The African Communist

NO 89 SECOND QUARTER 1982

POLAND

The cause of the crisis.

MOZAMBIQUE

For the nation to live the tribe must die.

SOUTH AFRICA

Black Trade Unions on the march!

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EDITORIAL NOTES



THE FIGHT FOR POLAND IS A FIGHT FOR PEACE

The declaration of a state of emergency and the introduction of martial law in Poland have had both serious causes and serious consequences. The causes will have to be analysed and sorted out by the Polish people under the leadership of the United Workers' Party. The consequences, because of the hysterical and aggressive stance adopted by the US and its NATO allies, concern the whole of humanity and demand the involvement of politically conscious men and women in all countries in efforts to prevent a catastrophe.

As the statement of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party issued last December makes clear, "the conflict in Poland cannot be isolated from the global struggle between the forces of decaying capitalism and those of advancing socialism". The Reagan administration in the United States, and the NATO powers which have succumbed to its pressure, have carried the argument beyond the borders of Poland and, without a jot or tittle of evidence, held the Soviet Union responsible for the declaration of a state of emergency in Poland. Sanctions have been imposed not only against Poland but also against the Soviet Union, to express the alleged "outrage" of the US and its allies at the "violation of human rights" in Poland, and the complicity of the Soviet Union in them. Some of the organisations professing to act in the name of Polish Solidarity in the west have been calling for the imposition of sanctions against the whole of the socialist bloc. Solidarity itself appealed for Solidarity organisations to be formed in other Warsaw Pact countries. It should be plain that NATO is concerned, not with human rights in Poland, or anywhere else for that matter, but with destabilising the whole socialist world, and using every dishonest weapon in its arsenal to stir up public opinion against the governments of Poland, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Never has such a flood of lies and distortions been unleashed by the capitalist media. The most fantastic stories were spread about in the first weeks of the emergency — that prisoners were kept in the open without heating, or hourly doused with water in prison yards in sub-zero temperatures; that Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader, was dying or dead, depressed, defiant, talking, not talking, weeping, smiling; that 7 or 70 or 700 people were shot by the military; that 7 or 70 or 700 factories were still strike-bound; that 700 or 7,000 or 70,000 people were interned; that the Polish "people" were depressed, defiant. compliant, resistant; that martial law was being operated by Russians dressed in Polish uniforms and with snow on their boots. No slander has been too far-fetched for use in the psychological warfare which has been declared.

The crisis which has overtaken Poland has many causes, and the situation was and remains very complex. Without forgetting the tremendous achievements of the Polish United Workers' Party (it did, after all, succeed in raising Poland from a feudal backwater to one of the most industrially advanced countries in Europe), there is no denying that the party's failure to implement the decisions of its recent congresses and to promote socialist advance in all sectors of the economy, as well as to adhere

strictly to the principles of socialist democracy, was one of the factors which led to the birth of Solidarity in the first place. However, the conflict in Poland cannot be reduced merely to the level of a struggle for "human rights". What is going on in Poland now is a struggle for power — a bitter class struggle the outcome of which will be quite clearly a victory or defeat for the forces of socialism. The question of human rights is by no means irrelevant; the PUWP admitted its failures on this front and during the course of last year was taking steps to remedy them. But other factors intervened.

It is now clear that it was not the PUWP but the policies and activities of certain leading elements in Solidarity which were responsible for the breakdown of public order in Poland. The Polish government leaned over backwards to reach an accommodation with Solidarity. It offered the establishment of a national front including Solidarity and the Roman Catholic Church to get the wheels of production turning again and pull Poland out of the mire. The stumbling block turned out to be Solidarity itself.

It was Solidarity which refused to co-operate and which reached out for power. And those who say there is no evidence of an attempted coup d'etat on the part of the counter-revolutionaries in Poland should remember Chile. There, too, workers' grievances flowing from production and food shortages were used to undermine the Allende regime and frustrate the march to socialism. There too the CIA and other western agencies were involved in stirring up agitation against the government. The difference is that whereas in Chile the armed forces were still dominated by reactionary elements surviving from the previous regime who eventually threw their weight behind the murderer Pinochet, in Poland by contrast the Military Council of National Salvation declared the state of emergency on December 13, 1981, in defence of socialism. Whereas in Chile the military drive came from the right and was aimed at the strengthening of capitalism, in Poland the whole move has been in the opposite direction. In the conditions of international class struggle, there are no absolutes, no absolute freedom, no absolute right of "free" trade unions to exist; all rights and freedoms must be interpreted and applied in their class context: do they promote or hinder the development of socialism?

What is Solidarity?

In western media since August 1980 all virtue in Poland has been deemed to reside in Solidarity. It was declared from the outset that Solidarity had

10 million members — the number never seemed to vary. Where these members sprang from, how they were counted and organised, and around what programme was apparently irrelevant. In western eyes Solidarity's raison d'etre was its hostility to the Polish United Workers' Party and its ability to destabilise the Warsaw Pact. The more strikes and the more disruption it caused, the better. The prospect opened up of the collapse of the socialist regime in Poland and the withdrawal of Poland into neutrality or perhaps even adherence to NATO.

We do not say Solidarity was all evil, or that there were no grounds for its existence. Solidarity was born of workers' protest against deteriorating living standards, bureaucracy and corruption flowing from the errors of the former PUWP leadership, errors since admitted by the PUWP itself which has taken steps to purge its ranks and reform its policies. But Solidarity never developed into a solid, unified organisation with a clear programme and policy. Nor was it just a trade union, but a largely inchoate mass of diverse groups and tendencies which came more and more to be manipulated in an anti-socialist direction by ideologically committed opposition elements. The London *Times* on December 19, 1981, quotes British miners' leader Arthur Scargill as saying:

> "It is clear that Solidarity is not a trade union in our accepted sense of the word. It is, I suspect, a political movement".

Nor was Solidarity entitled to speak in the name of the Polish people. On December 18, 1981, the Johannesburg *Star* reproduced an article from the *Washington Post* which stated:

> "Now that the first heady days of Solidarity are over and the Communist Party has cracked down on the union, a little-noted development is occurring in Poland. People are starting to ask just what Solidarity has done for them and what it is likely to do in future — if anything.
> "They ask because the real economic crisis did not set in until this year and the Poles see the birth of Solidarity and the onset of massive food shortages as something more than a coincidence."

The escalation of strikes caused severe damage to the Polish economy. According to official figures Poland's national income dropped by 2 per cent in 1979 and a further 4 per cent in 1980, but collapsed by no less than 15 per cent in 1981.

Naturally enough this led to greater shortages of goods and food in the shops, longer queues, more dissatisfaction, more strikes and consequently still more shortages. It was this breakdown in the process of production and distribution, combined with the open preparations of the Solidarity

leadership to "shoulder" the government aside and start to administer the state themselves that made the declaration of a state of emergency inevitable. The alternative was the total breakdown of law and order, and who could predict what would emerge from the chaos and conflict which would ensue?

No evidence of a coup, complain the critics. Was there evidence of a coup in Chile before it happened? Was the Polish leadership to wait until a coup took place before it was justified in taking action to prevent it? If Chile taught one lesson, it was: don't wait until it is too late. A stitch in time saves nine. Nobody would have forgiven the PUWP if it had allowed socialism to go under by default.

To those who argue that socialism in Poland was never in danger we urge a study of the Reagan doctrine of "linkage", in terms of which everything that happens anywhere in the world must be linked with the determination of the US government to "roll back" the frontiers of socialism and make the world safe for capitalism. This explains why Reagan has imposed sanctions not only against Poland but also against the Soviet Union. This explains why the NATO ministers in their Brussels declaration of January 11 directed their attack, not only against Poland but against all the Warsaw Pact powers, which were accused of "rigidity with respect to those changes necessary to meet the legitimate aspirations of their people". And who are the NATO powers to decide what are the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the socialist countries? The NATO powers call on the Soviet Union "to respect Poland's fundamental right to solve its own problems free from foreign interference" and insist that "Soviet pressure, direct or indirect, aimed at frustrating the desire of the overwhelming majority of the Polish people for national renewal and reform must cease" but apparently see no inconsistency in exerting their own demands and pressures and interfering in the most drastic way by means of sanctions and threats of sanctions in their bid to steer events in Poland in the direction they want.

US Hypocrisy

The hypocrisy of the Reagan administration over Poland is breathtaking. When Reagan declared to Solidarity and the Polish workers in his TV spectacular last January, "Your cause is our cause", and named the right to strike as one of the imperishable freedoms for which the West was fighting, one recalled the sight of striking air traffic controllers in the United States being handcuffed and carted off to jail, and the persistent Presidential

efforts to smash their union. The United States imposed sanctions against Poland, but shelters the regime in Turkey which is guilty of horrendous atrocities against the Turkish people, condemned last January even by the Council of Europe of which it is a member. US Defence Secretary Weinberger declared after visiting Turkey in December 1981 that there can be no question of human rights until law and order are restored, but the same criteria apparently do not apply to Poland. Whereas the US does its utmost to damage the economies of Poland and the Soviet Union (thereby demonstrating in fact its total lack of concern for the welfare of the Polish people over whose fate it sheds crocodile tears), the US has increased its aid to Turkey from 450 million dollars in 1980 to 703 million dollars in 1982, two-thirds of which is for military aid. At the beginning of February, Reagan even more preposterously declared that he could vouch for democratic reforms by the Duarte regime in El Salvador and announced that he was immediately shipping 55 million dollars worth of emergency military equipment to El Salvador. A few days later he petitioned Congress to increase military and economic aid to El Salvador by 100 million dollars this fiscal year with a further increase to 300 million dollars next year.

What in US eyes is the difference between Poland on the one hand and Turkey and El Salvador on the other? The answer is that Poland is a socialist country and a member of the Warsaw Pact, the sheet anchor of the world forces fighting against imperialism. Turkey, on the other hand, is a bastion of capitalism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, a member of NATO and a base for the US war machine. Likewise Reagan regards the maintenance of the Duarte regime in El Salvador as vital to the interests of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Central America. And by application of the same criteria the US is able to ignore violations of human rights in Chile, Guatemala, Argentina, South Africa, Pakistan, Egypt, Israel, Sudan and a host of other countries. Even the mass murderer Pol Pot is recognised by the Western powers as the legitimate representative of Kampuchea for the simple reason that he is anti-Communist.

The western media had been struggling without success to find examples of atrocities in Poland under martial law. Without wishing to underplay the seriousness of the situation in Poland, up to the time of writing nothing that had happened there under martial law could compare with, say, the cold-blooded shooting down of 800 schoolchildren by the South African police in the disturbances at Soweto and elsewhere in 1976, or the 13,000 killed by junta troops and their allied paramilitary death squads in El

Salvador last year. There was no evidence of torture of detainees in Poland. Compare this with the ghastly record of our security police who have done to death more than 50 political prisoners and maimed and injured, physically and psychologically, thousands of others. Yet sanctions are imposed on Poland and the Soviet Union by the US, which on the other hand vetoes the imposition of sanctions against South Africa not only for its atrocities against its own people but also for its refusal to get out of Namibia. The US likewise vetoes sanctions against Israel for swallowing up the Golan heights. "Linkage" means for the US seizing every opportunity for attacking and destabilising the socialist countries, while protecting any form of terrorist dictatorship which proclaims itself anti-Communist.

As for "human rights", the US administration was exposed in a report issued last December by the Council on Regional Affairs, a body founded in 1975 by US trade union, professional and religious groups to promote democracy and human rights in Latin America. Accusing President Reagan of "actively wooing right-wing Latin American dictatorships guilty of massive crimes that call for condemnation", it said the Reagan administration's attitude to civil liberties in the hemisphere had "sparked an alarming rise in violations across the entire region and had a catastrophic effect on the lives of Latin Americans in 1981". The regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala were the worst offenders in the western hemisphere in 1981, together causing more than 29,000 civilian deaths — roughly double the 1980 total. The Council also expressed grave concern for human rights in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Haiti, Honduras, Uruguay and Paraguay, while noting a turn for the worse in Peru and Costa Rica.

In his State of the Union message last January, Reagan claimed his actions against Poland and the Soviet Union had demonstrated that the US was not prepared to conduct "business as usual" with oppressors. In fact, a glance round the world today shows that the US is prepared to conduct "business as usual" only with oppressors, and is ready for war with those who are trying to liberate the world from oppression. The case of Poland cannot be seen in isolation from this general scenario. Those who think they can oppose or denounce the regime and its methods in Poland without aiding the cause of imperialism are misreading the whole course of history in this century.

It should be made clear from the outset that the declaration of a state of emergency in Poland was by no means a coup d'etat, as the capitalist media like to describe it. No one was ousted from power. General

Jaruzelski, Prime Minister, first secretary for the Polish United Workers' Party and head of the armed forces, retained all his positions. The position of the party and parliament and the balance of class forces remained unchanged. The state of emergency was proclaimed by the authorities as an exercise of state power (which they held legitimately) to suppress a breakdown of law and order precipitated by the actions of those wishing to overturn the status quo. Any legitimate government has the right to defend itself by such means and many have done so in times of crisis. The state of emergency will give Poland time and the means to solve its serious economic problems, increase production, ensure that its population is adequately fed and clothed, and pay its foreign debts — the essential preconditions for the solution of Poland's other social problems and conflicts.

Those who condemn the declaration of a state of emergency should consider the alternative, which was capitulation to the forces of anti-socialism. When the Polish Ambassador to the United States defected, he did not retire into decent obscurity but threw his arms around President Reagan whom he greeted as a "liberator". Likewise the defecting Polish Ambassador in Japan. Those "progressives" who demonstrated against martial law in western capitals found themselves on the same platform as the fascist right wing. Poles who defected from ships in South African ports declared themselves in favour of capitalism and, while spouting fashionable platitudes about democracy, showed their trûe colours by joining the ranks of the white supremacists who deny the vote to the majority of our population. The communist parties in Spain, Italy, Japan, Britain and elsewhere who condemned the PUWP have suddenly found themselves the darlings of the bourgeois press, instruments of anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

The capitalist world is in a state of deep crisis flowing from the very bowels of its system — the drive for profit extracted from the labour of the working classes by those who own the means of production and distribution. The military-industrial establishments who control the destinies of the western world see only one way out of their dilemma — open confrontation with the forces of socal change. At home they slash social services and living standards of the poor to finance rearmanent, using the weapon of mass unemployment to discipline the unions and bludgeon the workers into submission. Abroad they propagate the myth of "Soviet imperialism" and condition their people to accept, not only that the peoples of the socialist countries are their enemy, but also that war is

inevitable. "Better dead than red" is a slogan heard more and more often from imperialist platforms these days.

The Polish crisis, like the Afghanistan crisis before it, and the Cuban crisis before it, and all the other crises selected by Reagan and the capitalist media for attention, are being artificially inflated in the interests of defending capitalist values and perpetuating the capitalist system. The danger is that in the process international tensions are becoming so heightened and passions so aroused that reason may be swept aside and the world pushed over the brink of a nuclear holocaust from which no system will survive. Reagan must not be allowed to scrap talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons as some sort of "punishment" of Poland and the Soviet Union. The threats which flow so easily from his lips and the war-mongering policies he is pursuing quite clearly constitute a danger to peace and bring us all nearer to annihilation. Even some of his NATO allies are obviously terrified of his swashbuckling rhetoric so reminiscent of Dr Strangelove.

The time has come for all progressives throughout the world to rally their forces and resist the drive to war. On the Polish issue, as on all others, there can be no neutrals. All must stand together against imperialism if all are not to be subjugated by imperialism. We live in the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, and all political issues must be interpreted in that context. At a time when the forces of imperialism are on the offensive, it is the duty of all progressives and above all the international communist movement to put first things first, to stand by the side of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which are opening the way to the future.

Yes, we communists have a duty to put our own house in order if that is necessary, but our first duty is to keep our house standing, to secure its foundations, and to frustrate the plans of the enemy to blow it up. We must win the fight for peace if we are to win the fight for socialism. The hands of the nuclear warmongers must be tied and their weapons destroyed if humanity is to advance to a higher stage and live and breathe in freedom and security.

(For further items about Poland, see "Documents" section on pp.96 and 100)

SEYCHELLES:
INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY

On November 24 last year the people's defence forces of the Seychelles frustrated a diabolical attempt mounted by a mercenary force to overthrow the popular government of Albert Rene. The mercenaries were routed in a battle which broke out shortly after they landed at the international airport in Victoria, the Seychelles capital. In the confusion of the fighting, the majority of the defeated mercenary force managed to escape by hi-jacking an Air India plane and forcing it to fly to Durban. With them they brought the corpse of one of their members killed in the fighting. The South African regime at first released all but five of the mercenaries, the Minister of Police stating that they were guilty of no crime except that they "shot out a few windows and ran around in the bush". Later however, the international outcry forced the South Africans to bring 45 to trial; a further seven were charged with various offences in the Seychelles.

The racist South African regime was undoubtedly involved in the coup attempt. Many of the mercenaries were South Africans, some of them former members of the Republic's elite paratroop unit, and some allegedly still serving members of the South African forces. At least two of them were involved in running special "anti-terrorism" training courses whose candidates were government-screened. There is little doubt that western intelligence agencies were also involved.

When one bears in mind the outcry over Poland, it can only be said that western protest at the Seychelles raid was perfunctory. In South Africa itself, not surprisingly, the mercenaries have been treated as heroes, and a special fund was launched to provide for their legal defence and other needs.

For the liberation movement, however, the grim reality of heightened mercenary activity on the African continent demands that the Seychelles coup attempt be viewed in its proper context. In recent years Africa has had an alarming record of mercenary intervention directed against progressive regimes or movements: Zaire, Congo, Benin, Comoro Islands, Angola, Mozambique and now the Seychelles. Patriotic Front forces and our own ANC have been the targets for attack in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. South Africa and the West are determined to keep Africa safe for imperialism — if they can.

What did South Africa hope to achieve in the Seychelles and who would have benefited from their success? On the face of it, the Seychelles would not seem to be very significant in economic terms. Situated off the east coast of Africa, it consists of an archipelago of about 100 islands with a population of 62,000. The mainstay of the economy is tourism and the export of copra.

Formerly a British colony, the islands received semi-autonomous status in 1970 under the Chief Ministership of Richard Mancham. Because his Democratic Party opposed independence for the territory, the Organisation of African Unity at its Rabat summit in 1972 formally recognised the opposition Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP) as an authenic liberation movement since its campaign for independence was in line with the OAU Charter on ending colonialism in Africa. Under pressure Britain gave independence to the territory in 1976.

Under its first President, Mancham, the Seychellois gained nothing. It has since been revealed that Mancham himself was one of the recipients of "aid" from the Muldergate slush fund and had close links with BOSS and the CIA. In June 1977 he was overthrown by Albert Rene leading the Seychelles People's Progressive Front. Since then the country has seen progressive reforms and Rene has publicly enunciated a socialist perspective for the country.

Viewed against this background the Seychelles would not seem to be a threat to any country. When, however, one looks at the Seychelles in the context of the global strategy of imperialism, they assume greater significance.

Theatre of War

Under the leadership of the USA, the imperialists have stepped up the arms race in their bid for military supremacy and have selected certain areas for a massive concentration of lethal weaponry and military personnel. The Indian Ocean is one such area, and the drive to turn the Ocean into a theatre of war was given a fillip with the entry of Reagan into the White House. With his sabre-rattling policies he has strengthened the presence of NATO in the region. The US is spending billions of dollars in setting up military bases in the islands and countries in the western region of the Indian Ocean. Recent acquisitions include: an air base at Ras Banas in Egypt which, it is envisaged, will serve as a launching pad for the Rapid Deployment Force; access to the port of Mombasa as well as the airfields at Embakasi and Nanyuki in Kenya; use of the port of Berbera in Somalia;

use of three air bases in Oman (Seeb, Tanrait and the island of Masirah) as well as the port of Raysut in the Dhofor province.

In exchange for these facilities the US has given millions of dollars mainly in military credits as well as some other forms of aid.

Also of great importance is the island of Diego Garcia which the US has taken over from the British. The inhabitants of this island were uprooted so that the entire territory could be turned into a military base with a force of 12,000 men "prepositioned" there. Added to this is the declared intention to establish the 5th Fleet in the area. Already the sea in this area is teeming with US warships armed with nuclear weapons, including aircraft carriers. Thus the US and its allies have virtually turned the whole region into a powder-keg endangering the lives and safety of peoples throughout the Indian Ocean region.

The Seychelles government under Albert Rene has been vociferous in its protests over these dangerous developments. The government has taken initiatives to rally the support of the peoples of the region for steps to ensure that the Indian Ocean becomes a zone of peace. The Seychelles closed her ports to the ships sailing to and from Diego Garcia. This campaign obviously goes counter to the morbid designs of the military-industrial complex in the US and other imperialist centres. Having invested billions of dollars in their bid for military superiority, they are not willing to allow a little country like the Seychelles to upset their schemes. It came as no surprise to read a report in the Johannesburg press that the money to finance the Seychelles coup attempt came from the United States.

Revolutionary Tide

The unholy alliance between Washington and Pretoria which has flourished under Reagan laid the basis for co-operation in the Seychelles coup project. Viewed against the background of the escalating liberation war in South Africa and Namibia, the involvement of the racists was understandable and inevitable. Over the years the Botha regime has tried all means to stop the revolutionary tide engulfing the sub-continent. They have used economic blackmail against neighbouring states, they have sought to impose fraudulent schemes such as the so-called "constellation of states" in their bid to dominate the region. With the encouragement of the Reagan administration they have become more bold and more aggressive in their tactics. Hence the escalation of military incursions into Angola and other neighbouring states and hence their involvement in the Seychelles

adventure. For the racists the overthrow of the Rene government would have brought the islands within Pretoria's sphere of influence. This would not only have secured a friend in the sea of hostility flowing from the neighbouring states, but would also have given South Africa a vassal state of the Bantustan type which could have been used as a launching pad for military intervention against progressive states on the eastern coast of Africa. Had the coup succeeded the Seychelles would no longer be an obstacle to the imperialist military designs but would have become a trojan horse against the African revolution.

The abortive Seychelles coup exposes the sordid nature of the rapprochement between Pretoria and Washington as well as the dangers it creates for our continent. But it is not enough to lay the blame for the Seychelles episode at the door of the racists and imperialists. Africa can now see clearly that the imperialists are prepared to do anything, resort to any outrage, to buttress their stronghold — racist South Africa, whose criminal propensities know no limits. Therefore Africa must close ranks against the racist South African regime and support the call made by the Seychelles Foreign Minister in his tour of African states following the coup attempt: that member states of the Organisation of African Unity should ratify the convention on mercenaries, for no country is immune from their interference.

Even more important — Africa must give increased moral and material support to SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa who are leading the struggle to overthrow the racist regime which is the source of tension and conflict in the whole southern African and Indian Ocean region. It is only when this regime has been crushed that incidents such as the Seychelles coup attempt will cease.

GENOCIDE IN THE BANTUSTANS

The mass removal of African communities from the "white" areas of South Africa to the Bantustans makes clear the "grand strategy" of the Botha regime — to rid South Arica of its "native problem". Recent official analyses of the 1980 census results show that the population of the

Bantustans rose by an average of 66 per cent between 1970 and 1980; in the case of some of the smaller territories like KaNgwane, Qwaqwa and KwaNdebele the increase was between 200 and 500 per cent. Four Bantustans have already been forced into "independence", with the result that the 10 million or more de jure subjects of the Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda have been deprived of their South African citizenship. Statistics relating to these territories are no longer supplied by the South African authorities, whose ultimate ambition is to eliminate entirely the African element of the total population.

When the racists' grand design has been achieved, South Africa's population will comprise only whites, Coloureds and Indians, with the whites in the majority and so morally entitled, in their view, to rule the roost. The fact that even then the whites in the "white" areas of South Africa will be outnumbered more than twice over by Africans will be irrelevant because the Africans will be classed as "foreigners" or "guest workers" with no claim to any of the rights of citizenship and subject to deportation in the same way as any other foreigner.

Meanwhile each of the independent Bantustans is ruled by stooges of the Botha regime who have been placed in power to promote the policy of separate development, who have inherited most of the laws of South Africa, whose administration is still largely in the hands of white South Africans, and whose security apparatus is meshed in with that of South Africa. Not a single government in the "independent" Bantustans has been brought into office as a result of genuinely free elections, the worst case being that of Venda where the party of Mphephu has twice been routed at the polls only to be given power by the ex-officio chiefs whose authority and stipend came from South Africa. The Matanzima brothers who rule Transkei, the Sebe brothers in Ciskei, Mangope in Bophuthatswana and Mpephu in Venda all owe their positions to undemocratic constitutions and treaties drawn up by South Africa. Those same undemocratic constitutions enable them to maintain themselves in power against the will of their people, because nobody except the puppets themselves can change the constitutions.

Nevertheless, the people are fighting. They have no option, because unless they fight they have no future except oppression, sickness and death in the Bantustans or oppression and slave labour in "white" South Africa. South Africa continues to dump people in the Bantustans, leaving them in wretched shanty-towns without land or work or even basic facilities like piped water, let alone food. It is estimated that more than 2 million

Africans were uprooted from their homes and transported to the Bantustans between 1960 and 1980, and the deportations continue unabated. Diseases like cholera and dysentry are rampant today in the Transvaal and Natal and are spreading to other areas, including the "white" areas, thanks to migratory labour. Infant mortality is on the increase, inevitably, because in most rural areas there are no hospitals or doctors to treat the sick.

The South Arican racists shrug off developments in the "independent" Bantustans, saying: "What happens in a foreign country is not our responsibility". But all the puppet "governments" still get the bulk of their finance from South Africa and could not survive without South African support. The Bantustan police and security forces are trained by South Africans and ex-Rhodesian Selous Scouts. Not surprisingly, each Bantustan's record is scarred by detentions without trial and there is a growing series of deaths in detention of political prisoners on all fours with those in South Africa itself.

It is time to warn the Bantustan puppets that they will be called to account in due course for the excesses they are perpetrating against their own people. While they get fat eating the plums of office, their people sicken and die from malnutrition or the blows and electric shocks of security policemen. The Bantustan puppets who administer South Africa's programme of genocide will face their Nuremberg trial when the day of judgment comes — if they last that long.

The freedom fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe are indeed active in the Bantustans, as elsewhere in South Africa, and are getting every support from the people, who welcome them as liberators. The liberation of the Bantustans from puppet rule is part of the process of liberating all South Africa, which belongs as a single, integrated whole to all its people, as the Freedom Charter declares.

BLACK TRADE UNIONS SET THE PACE

by R. E. Matajo

1981 was a year of struggle and progress for the South African working class. The outstanding features of the year on the labour front were the unprecedented wave of strikes, community solidarity with strikers, the upsurge in trade union organisation and changes in the labour laws. These events are related. The changes in the labour laws are both the cause and effect of the great upsurge in trade union organisation and militant action by the workers.

The economic gap between the two great classes in our country, workers and capitalists, keeps getting wider. The capitalists are getting relatively and absolutely richer and the workers are getting relatively and absolutely poorer.

Company profits are soaring as never before, flowing from an increasing rate of productivity, which means an increasing rate of exploitation of the working class. Company directors earn huge salaries and live lavishly.

Companies are assisted by the regime's strike-breaking, police interference, raids on trade union offices, detentions, banning and arrests of trade union leaders and strikers. A typical newspaper report reads: "Van loads of armed police are raiding sites along the East Rand and hundreds of unregistered black workers are being arrested". (1)

There is a huge gap not only between the incomes of employers and employees, but also between the wages of white and black workers.

"The average earnings of more than 600,000 whites in a wide range of jobs exceeded R1,000 a month in March this year. Their earnings were 23% higher than in March 1980.

". . . over the same period the earnings of black workers rose 25% to an average R220 a month, those of coloured workers rose 23% to R293 a month and for Asians workers the increase was 20% to R348 a month." (2)

Gross discrimination is demonstrated in the salaries paid to government employees i.e. the state, provincial authorities, local authorities.

Number of white workers employed: June 1981	310,000
Number of African, Indian and Coloured	510,000
Total	820,000
Total earnings of white workers	R780m
Total earnings of African, Indian and Coloured workers	R387m

(3)

The National Manpower Commission (NMC) in its first special report published on 3/6/81 stated clearly that so long as we persist in trying to recruit High Level Manpower (HLM) mainly from the white community, the country cannot realise its development targets. HLM as defined by the report consists of 'all persons engaged in the professional and semi-professional occupations, technicians and management personnel of all kinds — excluding farmers, artisans and clerks at the lower levels.'

In 1979, whites comprised 30% of total manpower but provided 71.9% of the HLM. Corresponding figures for coloureds were 11.4% of total manpower, 7.8% of HLM; for Asians 3.9% and 3.2%; for Africans 54.6% and 17.1%.

Between 15,000 and 18,000 artisans' jobs are unfilled. Only a handful of black apprentices are given training in urban areas. Closed shop agreements between white trade unions and employers operate de facto discrimination. The economic boom has not reduced the mass of black unemployed. Figures are grossly unreliable because they exclude the huge

mass of unemployed in the homelands. Yet they indicate that 20% of black women and 42% of black young men in their 20's are jobless. Unemployment and inflation bear witness that the poor are getting poorer.

South Africa's inflation rate in 1981 was the worst since 1924. Thus the real wages of all workers were slashed by the 16% rise in the cost of living and for the lower income groups the rise was 20.5%. Monopolies set prices that are far above the cost of production. While farmers' gross earnings rose by 22%, South Africa's 1.3 million farm-workers suffered a deterioration in the purchasing power of their wages and in their living conditions. The average monthly cash payments to farm workers in Transvaal and the Orange Free State were about R25 to R30. In the Western Cape, the figures were substantially higher, from R53 to R79. The abolition of the labour tenant system and the tightening of influx control has worsened the position of farm workers. Farm workers are exluded from the Wage Act, the Labour Relations Amendment Act, Factories Act and Unemployment Insurance Act. South Africa's agriculture depends on cheap labour immobilised by the pass laws. In addition to these injustices, the workers are subjected to brutal treatment by farm owners.

The Fight Back

The oppressed, exploited, starved, unemployed, homeless, organised and unorganised workers are uniting in the struggle to survive against the capitalist white minority regime. The frustrations and mass anger of young and old, men and women, are stoking the fire of a broad-based movement for "Unity in Action." During 1981 the people showed their awareness of the need to unify all forces, the need to take a stand in the struggle against racial oppression and class exploitation.

The first 10 months of 1981 saw a rapid escalation of labour unrest. The regime cannot boast anymore of 'peace in industry'. 180 strikes were recorded in the 10 months to October 1981 during which 140,000 workers participated in many industries in the motor assembly, food, paper, engineering, mining and distributive trades. The issues were: workers demanding wage increases, the reinstatement of workers' leaders, trade union recognition, recognition of agreements and, last but not least, the struggle against the draft Pension Bill.

Under the new Pension Bill workers were only entitled to get access to their contributions at the age of 65. Fearing permanent loss of their money, the workers demanded their contributions back before the Bill was

passed and this led to widespread labour unrest. Many companies were forced to pay out large sums of money to their workers as a result of the strike actions.

An important phenomenon in most of the strikes was that they were led by trade unions. Where strikers had no trade unions they appealed for help to trade union federations such as the National Federation of Workers (NFW), the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU).

FOSATU's annual report discloses that out of 90 strikes in FOSATU-organised factories, 36 were over wages, 25 over dismissals, 10 over management-worker relations, 10 over union recognition, 4 over pensions and 4 over working conditions. A further 30 strikes or work stoppages were mostly the result of dismissals, disciplinary procedures and working conditions. (5)

We must recognise that decades of struggle to win the right for African workers to form unions with the democratic right to represent their members have been crowned with limited but important successes in that the apartheid regime has been forced to grant some limited concessions. The regime realises that it cannot prevent the emergence of African trade unions. Its main objective in making these concessions is to ensure that those unions which exist and continue to emerge are controlled and manipulated in the interests of the continued racist exploitation of the black working people. The Black workers have in the recent past been raising their level of unionisation, scoring many important victories, demonstrating in practice their readiness to build trade union organisation.

A major contributory factor is the slow, patient and painstaking work of organisers who have been active in the major industrial centres in the past decade. Some of them belong to old established unions, some are relatively new in the field.

The estimated African trade union membership is now between 200,000 and 250,000. It is evident that the advance has taken place in many ways and through the instrumentality of many different organisations and leaders. This diversity in fact has given rise to a process of fragmentation and competition which is a major weakness and a problem which demands urgent solution. Amongst the African workers there are now at least 5 centres: the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), FOSATU, SAAWU and NFW.

CUSA — Council of Unions of South Africa. Formed in September 1980. Rand-based. 8 member unions. All black. Representing building, chemicals, steel and engineering. Paid up membership 19,000. Signed-up membership 36,019. General Secretary — Mr. Piroshav Camay. CUSA proclaimed its main objective as a completely black-led union federation, but has no specific economic or social programme beyond that. Funded by Western European affiliates to the ICFTU, British TUC, West German Catholic Development Fund and the Friederich Ebert Foundation.

FOSATU — Federation of South African Trade Unions. Formed April 1979. According to its annual report last year, the membership has risen from 59,460 to 94,617 since November 1980. It has a majority membership in 347 factories and union rights are being negotiated in more than 130 factories. Some of its affiliated unions nearly trebled in membership. It also claims that 75 white workers resigned from the SA Yster en Staal Unie to join their affiliate the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union. It plans to organise in Northern Natal and other areas.

SAAWU is an unregistered trade union body. It sees its task as organising ALL workers. Its policy is non-racialism based on workers'unity. It strives to organise workers on the shopfloor. The guiding principle of the union is mass participatory democracy. This means that the workers decide the policy, direction and tasks of the union. SAAWU either organises workers into affiliated trade unions or representative workers' committees. The membership of SAAWU at the moment is mostly African, but it wants to organise all workers, whether they be Coloured, Indian or White. Its general secretary, Sam Kikine, claimed 26 affiliated unions with a membership of 75,000. SAAWU is also engaged in organising the unemployed workers. SAAWU has given courageous leadership to the workers in SA and the government is banning and detaining SAAWU activists. In the Wilson-Rowntree dispute the company and the Sweet Workers' Union, an affiliate of TUCSA, are cooperating against SAAWU and the interests of the African workers.

SAAWU is like a general workers' union on the lines of the old ICU. It is necessary to look at the reason for the failure of the ICU — it failed because it was unwilling to organise industrial unions, to introduce rank-and-file democratic control of union funds and elections. There is no reason why workers who are willing to join SAAWU should not be organised in industrial unions, say transport workers in East London, stevedores, railway and harbour workers, and those existing unions link up with unions of the same industries in the rest of the country.

TUCSA — Trade Union Council of South Africa. Last breakdown showed a membership of 299,455 — 73,859 whites, 187,180 Indian and Coloured workers, 38,416 Africans. Recently increased its affiliated trade union membership and last year claimed its 49 affiliated unions represented 361,000 workers of all races. This increase has been brought about mainly as a result of affiliated unions opening their ranks to black workers. TUCSA recently won the affiliation of the SA Artisan Association, a railway union which opened its ranks to black workers. TUCSA persists in its policy of supporting the establishment and not offering confrontation. During the strikes on the Pension Bill, its President Anna Scheepers urged workers not to press for the repayment of their pension money. It also denounces the unregistered unions for their rejection of the industrial council system.

NFW — National Federation of Workers. Details of membership and affiliation uncertain. A general workers' union. See comment above relating to SAAWU — the NFW also needs firm grounding on an industrial basis.

Other organisations catering for African workers include GWU — General Workers' Union. This general union has done tremendous work, and met with great success — particularly in organising and obtaining higher wages and better conditions of work for stevedores, building workers, meat workers. Their work and achievements should be consolidated into democratic industrial unions.

The same applies to the TGWU. The recently established General Workers' Union of South Africa, a new exclusive black trade union established in Port Elizabeth which represents among others stevedores, bakery, textile, metal, hospitals, domestic staff, dairies, municipal workers, public transport drivers, sales representatives, clerical staff and the building industry. Some of these sections have unions. The situation should be carefully examined with a view to organising thoroughly democratic industrial unions.

Unaffiliated trade unions, unregistered: Now estimated to total 49,000 members, mostly African. Some of the larger unions are the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Non-European Municipal Workers' Union (Cape Town), the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA), Black Municipality Workers' Union (BMWU). These unions should be encouraged, together with the above trade union centres and general workers' unions, to establish a united co-ordinating body to bring about the unity of all

registered and unregistered unions to work for united action by workers based on industrial unionism.

Political Direction

So much for organisational structures. There remains the question of policy. What is our attitude towards the competition that is now going on between the various trade union centres? Broadly one can distinguish five major groupings:

i. The extreme right wing represented by the South African Confederation of Labour.

ii. TUCSA, which works with the ICFTU, AFL-CIO-AALC and takes up a typically social democrat stance. They say "keep politics out of trade union work", operate within the existing social structures and aim at reforms without revolutionary upheaval.

iii. A mixed bag of black trade unions not affiliated to TUCSA, but having financial, organisational and ideological ties with the external agencies particularly ICFTU, AALC, and Friedrich Ebert Foundation. The leading bodies are FOSATU and CUSA.

Some sections in this group attempt to mobilise the members in the struggle against apartheid and for free trade unions without discrimination.

iv. A group of unions which do not receive support from the international sources mentioned above and are opposed to the regime. In this category fall SAAWU, GWU, PE GWU, Transvaal GAWU, GAWU, AFCWU, FCWU. The regime harasses, detains and bans their leaders.

v. A few unions like MWASA and BMWU receive aid from outside but are strongly opposed to the apartheid regime, are victimised by the regime, and have their leaders banned and detained.

The existing division and competition are the result in part of the attacks by the regime on militant trade union leaders who were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and detained under the Terrorism Act. An additional factor is the intervention of international trade union bodies such as ICFTU, AALC, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which promote divisions by financing different union centres and splitter groups. Their policy of avoiding confrontation with the regime and all forms of militant struggle has divided the trade union movement into two camps. One practises economism and avoids political action, while the other openly opposes apartheid. These contradictory attitudes are greatly strengthened because most subsidies are paid to the 'economist' non-political

unions. Personal interests, ambitions and power-seeking are contributory factors which would not however come to the surface were it not for the encouragement given to individuals with such tendencies.

Langa Conference

On August 8, 1981, a conference was held in Langa, Cape Town, attended by delegates from all trade union centres, registered and unregistered, affiliated and unaffiliated unions representing 150,000 predominantly black workers throughout the country. The unions and coordinating bodies represented were — FOSATU, Council of Unions (Tvl), SAAWU, GWU (Cape), FCWU, AFCWU, GWUSA, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA, General and Allied Workers' Union, the Industrial Aid Centre, BMWU, MACWUSA, Municipal Workers' Association (Cape Town). This was the most representative conference ever held of unregistered and registered trade unions. They took important decisions:

i. To reject the present system of registration designed to control and interfere in the internal affairs of the unions.

ii. To support each other in defiance of any abuse of investigative powers by the authorities.

iii. To support each other in defying restrictions on providing financial aid to striking workers.

iv. To reject the present Industrial Council system and recommend that unions which are not members of councils should not join them, and to request others to refer this issue back to their membership for endorsement.

v. To establish 'ad-hoc solidarity committees' in various regions to initiate solidarity action arising out of the meeting. These ad-hoc solidarity committees will be an important factor in developing greater unity between workers which belong to different unions and will strengthen the workers' decisions for militant action in support of their demands.

vi. Due to the severe difficulties created for workers by homeland authorities, the meeting resolved to send a delegation to Chief Minister Sebe to discuss his anti-union stance and the security of the workers in the Ciskei.

These decisions are of the utmost importance. The delegates not only spoke for the 150,000 workers they represented, but gave leadership to the whole working class in South Africa. We are confident that their decisions will stimulate discussion, organisation, action and further our revolutionary national democratic revolution.

The conference also emphasised another vital factor — the subjective question of the workers' consciousness and the amazing growth of self-confidence, a refusal to tolerate the usual brutal and high-handed methods of the racists and their agents in the police, courts and prisons.

What the upsurge in working class activity in recent years proves is that, although the white minority still control all the law-making processes and law-enforcing agencies, the press, radio and television, schools, universities, the economy, the military establishment and communications, it can no longer control the black workers' thoughts and is more and more hard-pressed to control their actions.

In the present situation, a great responsibility rests on the South African Communist Party.

The basic function of a Marxist-Leninist Party, the function which is universal to all Marxist-Leninist parties, irrespective of nationality, is that we are the revolutionary party of the working class, whose role is that of the vanguard in the fight for socialism. Our function is to pursue the path of socialism, to win adherents to our struggle for socialism and to raise the level of understanding of socialism among our workers, peasants and intellectuals and all population groups. Because the working class in our country is the pivotal force in the struggle for meaningful change, social progress and for socialism, our Party must place its main emphasis and focus on the working class. This most basic of all political concepts must be restated by us.

We cannot ignore and delay organising and leading our working class. We must recruit new personnel and give them an understanding of our role as set out by Lenin in *What is to be done?:*

> "Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers. That knowledge comes from all classes, the state and government. To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social Democrats (read communists) must go among all classes of the population and they must dispatch units of their army in all directions . . .
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> "Every trade union secretary conducts and helps to conduct the economic struggle against the employers and the government. It cannot be too strongly maintained that this is still not social democracy (read communism), that the Social Democrat's (read communist's) ideal should not be the trade union secretary, but the tribune of the people, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what strata or class of people it affects, who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation, who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in

order to set forth before all his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for all and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

The recent upsurge of the working class throughout 1980 and 1981 is in a large part a protest against national oppression, race discrimination and class exploitation. The working people are engaged in struggling against capitalist exploitation, but more specifically at the present time, against the forms that this exploitation takes under the system of apartheid. Nowhere else in the world are any people being deprived of citizenship on the ground of colour.

Notes

1. *Star* 8.5.81
2. *Cape Argus* 20.4.81
3. *Rand Daily Mail* 29.9.81
4. *Rand Daily Mail 6.6.81*
5. *Financial Mail* 18.12.81



THE MOZAMBICAN REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

FOR THE NATION TO LIVE THE TRIBE MUST DIE

By Spectator

"It was in the course of political-military training that we forged national unity, and developed a common outlook, a patriotic consciousness and a class consciousness. We came (to the camp at Nachingwea in Tanzania) as Makondes, Makuas, Nyanjas, Nhungues, Manikas, Shangaans, Ajanas, Rongas or Senas, and we left as Mozambicans.

"We came in as black, white, coloured and Indian persons, and we went out as Mozambicans. We came with a limited vision, because the only zone we knew was our zone. It was there that we took on the full dimension of our country and the values of the revolution.

"Frequently we arrived animated only by a sentiment of revolt and anger against the oppressor; we left with a clear consciousness about the objective for which we were fighting and with a clear definition of who the enemy was.

"It is for this reason that we say that Nachingwea camp was the laboratory and forge of the Mozambican Man (and embryo of the Mozambican Nation)."

President Samora Machel: Address in Independence Square, Maputo, 5th November, 1981.

The Nation is not just a Collection of its Parts

The fundamental question of the revolution is not the national or racial question, but the question of people's power. This proposition was asserted with increasing frequency during the armed struggle, and continues to be the guiding political and constitutional principle today. Power is seen as belonging not to institutions but to a class alliance which uses those institutions to guarantee the power of the masses. Thus the unity between the workers in the town and the peasants in the countryside is seen as the foundation of a national unity involving all patriotic forces 'from the Rovuma to the Maputo'.

People's power, the organised form of rule by the masses, overrides and destroys tribal, regional, racial and religious divisions. It is not shared or divided, it is not a balance worked out between different racial or ethnic groups, it is not fragmented into regions or provinces. People's power is unitary not pluralistic, it is the power of the working people, organised and led by their party FRELIMO. FRELIMO is a single vanguard Party; it is not composed of Shangaan branches or Makua branches, or Makonde branches, it does not have a white section or a coloured section or an Indian section. Its members are not identified by their origin, but by their option. Similarly, deputies to the people's assemblies are chosen not to represent local or communal interests but to represent the power of the people as a whole.

> "The nation is not the sum of its provinces, nor are they fractions of the nation. The nation is unified; it cannot be split up. It exists in the communal village, in the capital; the communal village, the district, the capital — they *are* the nation". (2)

This is not a new theme, it is the spirit of Nachingwea, of the liberated zones, applied to the whole country. When after the ceasefire in 1974 FRELIMO representatives took their place in the transitional Government this is what Samora Machel said in his message as President of FRELIMO:

> "Let none regard (you) as representatives of any race, ethnic group or religion. (You) represent the working people, their sacrifices and aspirations, the whole people from the Rovuma to the Maputo. No one fought for a region, for a race, for a tribe, for a religion. We fought and we continue to fight — for the same nation." (3)

One practical consequence of this emphasis is that the deputies in the People's Assembly, the highest organ of people's power, are seated not according to region or constituency, but in alphabetical order (which, incidentally, happens to be a bit hard on the many Zacariah's).

For the enemies of the freedom struggle in Africa (and in a different context, even for a few of our friends) who can only see our continent in terms of tribe, race or ethnicity, who feel that class contradiction does not exist in Africa, or as yet is so underdeveloped as to have little political significance, the FRELIMO approach must seem illusory, at worst oppressive, at best idealistic, the imposition of a unified ideology on a diverse people. But in reality, it was the ideology that evolved out of practice, and not practice from ideology. First came the harsh lessons of struggle, in which the ambitious elements inside FRELIMO used racism, tribalism and regionalism to establish themselves as the new would-be exploiters; then came the necessity for a frontal assault against traditional feudal power and traditional feudal mentality; then came the unity of the working people from all parts of the country, in Nachingwea and elsewhere; and only then, for the great majority of FRELIMO leaders came the adoption of a class philosophy which gave coherence to the revolutionary struggle in which they were already deeply engaged, and which, in particular, explained the fierce contradictions which were provoking a deep crisis inside their own organisation. It was experience and not exhortation which taught them. Class analysis works and works universally, not simply because it is logical and it is good, but because it is true.

People's Culture and Mozambican Personality

The laws of revolution are universal. At the same time each revolutionary process has its own concreteness and its own personality. Understanding the relationship between these two propositions is crucial to understanding how the national question is being tackled in Mozambique.

The term 'personality' is used here in a dual sense; in the first place, it refers to the particular *political* characteristics of the Mozambican revolution, the special configuration of forces, the solutions it found, its own course, the way it not only drew creatively on the universal principles of revolutionary struggle but enriched these principles with its own experience. In particular, it refers to the role of the liberated zones and the people's army, to the way internal contradictions arose and were overcome and how armed struggle for national liberation was transformed into people's revolutionary war. In the second place, it relates to the rich and complex way in which the people's *culture* influenced and was in turn influenced by the revolution.

The revolution liberated an immense cultural force amongst the people. This already started in the first days of the war in the liberated zones in the north, where the peasants greeted the people's army with a great variety of traditional festive songs and dances. FRELIMO incorporated these songs and dances, the drums, flutes, rattles and horns into the revolutionary process, transforming them by giving them new names, words and symbols, and transforming the revolution by implanting it in the soil of people's culture.

This was far from giving a folk-loric colouring to the struggle. The revolutionary message was taken over by the masses and spread by means of popular cultural activity; and the medium became very much part of the message, as the people in every locality invented their own dances and created their own verses, feeling the revolution to be very much their own.

Furthermore, the culture was diffused, nationalised, in the sense that first the soldiers, then the schoolchildren, then the masses in general, began to learn the dances and songs of struggle from all the regions of the country. Women started doing dances which had been reserved for centuries for men only, while some men even began to do 'women's' dances.

FRELIMO documents never speak of 'discovering national talent', but rather of 'developing people's culture' emphasising that the people are one and that their culture belongs to the whole people and not to a collection of groups. Though enriched by infusions from many sources — this variety being a source of great vitality — it is regarded as a seamless whole, not something to be likened to a garden filled with a number of beautiful flowers ('multi-racial'; 'multi-national'; 'plural') but to be regarded as a single tree with a single trunk, many roots and a great number of branches ('the people'). Considering how, in the past, diversity of origin was used as the basis of the humiliation of the mass of the people, and considering, too, how intense was the localism of an underdeveloped society in which traditional feudal authority was deeply entrenched, the achievement of FRELIMO in creating a national consciousness, of developing a sense of belonging to a single people, rich in cultural expression, with a strong personality, must be regarded as one of the great achievements of the revolution, perhaps its greatest 'conquest' to date, and a major contribution to world revolutionary theory and practice.

As the struggle continues, so do the forms of cultural expression develop. In 1978 there was a National Festival of People's Dance in which half a million people participated; in 1980 thousands more people, mostly

old, took part in a National Festival of Traditional Music. At the time of writing, through the length and breadth of the country there are thousands of local groups doing dances which say: "Let the boers come . . . We want peace but we are not afraid of war . . . Let the boers come". They are responding to the current phase of the struggle, just as a few years ago they sang and danced in favour of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe even when Smith's bombs were raining down on their country.

And of course the President sings, at public meetings, in the People's Assembly, when addressing the troops — on every public occasion, except at funerals and diplomatic functions. You know you are in a country committed to socialism because of the content of the speeches, and you know you are in Africa, more particularly in Mozambique, because of the way they are delivered. President Samora in his person expresses the Mozambican personality not because he wears a toga (he does not) or an Afro-hair style (he does not) or because he carries around with him some symbol of traditional authority (he wears a suit or a military uniform) but through the language he uses to express the deepest longings of the working people, through his humour, generosity and his singing voice, the idiom and concreteness of his speech, his brilliant verbal intelligence. Yet there is nothing Africanist in his ideas, which belong to the whole of humanity. He talks the concrete language of class and of the struggle against exploitation and humiliation, and not the mystical language of 'the drums of Africa are beating, the spirits of our ancestors are calling'.

'Yes' to People's Power, 'No' to Negritude

By common accord, the ideas of negritude played a strongly positive role in the formative period of articulated Mozambican nationalism after the second World War. As in Angola, cultural affirmation, self-identification of the people and of individuals, as being African, became a crucial form of resistance to the mental oppression imposed by colonialism, to its seduction and to its menace. This was especially so for the petty bourgeoisie, and for what one might call the aspirant petty bourgeoisie (or what one Minister once referred to as 'the lumpen bourgeoisie') whom the colonialists were trying to alienate from their own society and assimilate into Portuguese society. As for the masses, they were barely touched by Portuguese culture, being controlled directly by the chiefs and indunas who acted as intermediaries and who were responsible for quite another range of cultural problems, more associated with a world-view heavily infused with obscurantism and deeply resistant to innovation.

But once FRELIMO was formed and the call issued for armed insurrection, negritude ceased to be an affirmative force, and in fact came to be regarded as distinctly reactionary. What had been a unifying factor at a certain stage became a divisive factor at the next. Against whom was negritude, or 'African authenticity' as it was called, directed, once the armed struggle had started? The answer was against those members of FRELIMO who were not of African origin; and more especially against leaders of FRELIMO such as Eduardo Mondlane and others who happened to be married to persons not of African origin. Even more fundamental, it was directed against a political line inside FRELIMO, making it urgently necessary to decide one way or the other what kind of society was contemplated for the future — a totally new society based on people's power and free from all forms of exploitation, or simply the existing colonial society with blacks instead of whites in position of command?

In the words of Graca Machel, Minister of Education,

> "supporters of the latter view believed that the objective of the struggle was to replace the colonial masters with a new privileged class of Mozambicans. Elitism, opportunism, negritude and racism were some of the other manifestations of this conception. In many parts of the liberated areas, the defenders actively took the place of the colonial exploiter . . . Such therories as negritude and African authenticity are nothing more than the theories of the new-colonial ruling classes, hence of imperialism. Mozambican anti-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist culture affirms itself by violently breaking with these racist, bourgeois and therefore reactionary theories." (4)

During the period of profound crisis which hit FRELIMO in the late 1960's, the reactionaries in the organisation had mounted a series of attacks against the presence of whites in the organisation, calling them unnational elements, foreigners and enemies. Two white Mozambicans who were teachers at the Mozambique Institute in Dar Es Salaam were forced to leave Tanzania when a highly militant black priest stirred up the students against them. On another occasion, when a white Mozambican serving in the colonial armed forces seized important military plans and flew with them in a stolen plane to Tanzania, there were those in the FRELIMO leadership who wished to arrest and condemn him as a spy. Today, one of the abovementioned teachers is principal of the Eduardo Mondlane university, while the other became first Minister of Health; the pilot is a member of the key Permanent Political Committee of the Party and Minister for National Security. Meanwhile the militant priest was exposed for being a P.I.D.E. agent whose penetration into FRELIMO had been carefully prepared, while the persons who had wished to arrest the

pilot, after being expelled from FRELIMO for divisionism and breach of statutes, showed how authentic their Africanism was by going right over to the enemy, even to the extent of directing bombing raids against hidden FRELIMO bases.

Thus the attack launched under the cover of negritude was really an attack not on the whites but on the revolutionary line being developed under the leadership first of Eduardo Mondlane and then of Samora Machel. The matter is dealt with clearly in the Report of the Central Committee to the Third Congress of FRELIMO, which states that at first the differences appeared to be mere differences of opinion, but as the ideological and political struggle became increasingly bitter, they were unmasked for what they were, class antagonisms.

> "The new exploiters attempted to impose a definition of the enemy based on the colour of his skin, which would enable them to conceal their own position as exploiters and as enemies under the camouflage of colour. They wanted to impose an incorrect definition of the enemy, and stated that black exploiters did not exist, that only the whiteman was an exploiter — while the problem of exploitation of the population in the liberated zones (by themselves) was already being posed. They tried to incite the masses to murder captured white soldiers. They assessed how militant and patriotic you were in accordance with how black your skin was. Everybody else regardless of his job and how he carried it out was regarded as an enemy or a lackey of the enemy. These were class positions designed to confuse the masses over the definition of the enemy, in order to maintain the system of exploitation. In practice we learnt that those whoe took up these positions were the same ones who exploited the people". (5)

This theme runs right through the FRELIMO documents from the time of armed struggle, to the achievements of independence, to the struggle against under-development today. The revolutionary line was that whites were not doing anyone a favour by joining the struggle, nor were they being done a favour by being allowed into the ranks: like any other Mozambicans, it was their duty to fight for the independence of their country. Later in the message referred to above on the occasion of the taking of office by the FRELIMO representatives in the transitional government, Samora Machel emphasised that FRELIMO had never fought against the Portuguese people or the white race, but only against the colonial system of oppression and exploitation:

> "Therefore all those who live by honest work — and we know this to include the overwhelming majority of the white population, have a positive contribution to make to the national reconstruction of our country, together with the whole Mozambican people". (6)

At the same time, *it was necessary to overcome drastically the complexes of superiority and inferiority left behind by centuries of colonialism.* The whites (and many Asians and coloured people) had to get rid of their sense of superiority and paternalism, while the blacks had to fight an internal struggle against the inferiority complexes they had inherited, and which were at the root of attitudes of vengeance and personal hatred which went totally against the line of FRELIMO.

It was not enough to say simply: down with racism! and expect it to disappear overnight, he continued. Constant political work needed to be done, a conscious effort had to be made to change old habits, people had to learn to live and work and play together. In particular, he concluded:

> "We have to fight resolutely against the notion which some people are trying to inculcate, particularly in the case of whites, of minorities. *There are no minorities, no special rights and duties for any section of the Mozambican people;* we are all Mozambicans with the rights given to us by our work and the same duty to build a nation that will be united, prosperous, just, harmonious, peaceful and democratic". (7)

If one hears less today about the combat against racism, that is because the matter is hardly an issue any more. People have become used to seeing the nation in non-racial terms, and attempts to gain advantage by highlighting one's origin are given short shrift, as are any residues of racial arrogance. As one Minister recently put it in a radio interview:

> "Black is beautiful, White is beautiful, Yellow is beautiful. We won our war by taking up arms and organising the people, not by growing our hair in a way that our grandparents did not do, nor by affecting styles of dress that had a certain meaning in the USA but had no meaning in Africa." (8)

And the President frequently criticises the view advanced by some that if one puts on shoes or wears a jacket, one ceases to be an African.

Thus negritude is seen in this respect as negative, as resulting in romanticising poverty and idealising underdevelopment, as well as in falsely masking the contradictions between exploiters and exploited that exist in African societies. Some people, Samora Machel is fond of saying, 'don't mind being eaten by a local lion as long as they are not devoured by a foreign tiger'.

The Question of Language

Amongst the many questions which from the beginning divided the revolutionaries from the reactionaries in FRELIMO was the issue of language. At the founding conference of FRELIMO a number of persons objected to the use of Portuguese as 'the oppressor's language.' In its place

they suggested the use of English! (In fact FRELIMO nearly became MOLIFRO — Mozambique Liberation Front). This was turned down, and since then Portuguese has been the language of all official FRELIMO documents and the language used at FRELIMO meetings.

At first sight it seems paradoxical that, whereas the Portuguese colonialists never taught the people Portuguese (it is estimated that at the time of independence less than a fifth of the population could understand Portuguese), the organisation which successfully led the fight against foreign domination, should be the one making great efforts to spread the language. But if the national question is looked at properly in its concrete historical and revolutionary setting, the paradox disappears. The colonialists wished the people to be divided, unable to communicate with each other. FRELIMO on the other hand likened the Portuguese language to a weapon like any other that could be seized from the enemy and turned into an instrument of liberation. The first words of Portuguese which the people in the liberated zones learnt were: Revolucao, Camarada, A Luta Continua. Instead of being the language of the oppressor (who in any event had conveyed his commands through the interpretation of chiefs and indunas, happy to keep the people trapped in their local 'uses and customs' including their local languages) Portuguese became the language of unity, of liberation, the language of FRELIMO and of people's power.

More recently, the question of language in education was the subject of intense debates at a week-long national conference on the subject. The conclusion, which was adopted as policy by the Education Ministry, was that in a context of bilingualism (Portuguese and mother-tongue), Portuguese should continue to be the language of school and adult education, because it was:

> The language of national unity;
> The language of FRELIMO thought;
> The language with an already developed scientific vocabulary; and
> The language which permitted a two-way communication with the world at large.

Thus all teaching at all schools at all levels is done in Portuguese. Literacy texts are in Portuguese — a situation without precedent in which 90% of the adult population is illiterate and is setting out learning to read and write in a new language. At the political level, all communiques of the Party and of the mass organisations are in Portuguese, all debates from the district level upwards are in Portuguese, the laws are published in Portuguese and the speeches by the President are in Portuguese; the daily

newspapers and weekly reviews are all in Portuguese. Without a common language, there can be no nation, no cohesive expression of people's power, only a collection of ethnic or regional groups (there are six major national languages spoken, none of which is widely understood outside its region of special incidence).

At the same time the policy of bilingualism (or multi-lingualism) does have real meaning; one of the two major radio programmes is broadcast in the dominant national language of the local region; the President frequently slips passages of dialogue in the local language into his speeches; the people's newspapers — large blackboards in various enterprises which carry current news — have a section in the local language next to the section in Portuguese; popular songs performed on the air and at concerts by light music groups, are usually sung in the local language. At the grass-roots level, proceedings in the assemblies and courts are normally conducted in the local language, save that resolutions and decisions are recorded in Portuguese. Here again one notes an apparent paradox: the full flowering of local languages, with a rich published literature and a fully developed scientific and political vocabulary, is bound up with the deep implantation of Portuguese. The development of the official language is necessary for the development of the economy and the expansion of education, which in turn will provide a secure base for the diffusion and advancement of the national languages.

The policy of bi- or multi-lingualism therefore has to be looked at historically and in the context of the exercise of real and not merely symbolical power. It does not mean simply publishing all documents in two or more languages, it is not based on a mechanical system of fifty-fifty at all stages, but rather on a definition of priorities at each particular stage. The current phase of the struggle, with its emphasis on consolidating national unity and forging international links, requires that the primary emphasis be on the extension of Portuguese, one element of the policy of national bilingualism; at a later stage, it could require a special effort to develop the national language, the other element. The relationship is a dialectical one — in the conditions of people's power, the vigorous advancement of the official language is not a threat to the development of the national languages, but rather the guarantee of their eventual progress.

The last word has by no means been spoken on the subject. But one fact of enduring relevance is that the people of Mozambique have not simply received or succumbed to the Portuguese language, they have taken it over and enriched it with new words, fresh idioms and original constructions.

Similarly the armed struggle not only liberated the land and the people; it gave a vigorous dose of oxygen to the quality of the Portuguese language, replacing the stale mystical tones of a fascist or colonialist oration with the passionate, lyrical and sharply intelligent cadences of a Samora Machel speech or the clear and beautiful lines of a Marcelino do Santos or Jorge Rebelo poem.

A Common Economy

It is only since independence that even the beginnings of a truly national economy have been embarked on. In colonial times, especially in the later years, Mozambique in effect had two metropoles: Lisbon and Johannesburg. The economy was deformed, dependent and parasitic, serving the interests of South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese capital. To this day, there is no railway line from north to south linking the major centres of the country but only linked to neighbouring states; the first north-south tarred road is only being completed now, while many roads exist to link up with interior states. It is easier to phone Johannesburg or Lisbon from Maputo than it is to phone Quelimane or Pemba; and so on. What local production there was, was geared almost exclusively to the tastes and appetites of what are today referred to as the "colonial bourgeoisie". The mass of the people suffered migration, forced labour and forced crop cultivation so that the colonial and foreign bourgeoisie could prosper.

It was not independence itself which gave a national dimension to the economy, but the class option exercised in terms of people's power. Once more the working people, producers of the nation's wealth, proved that they were the only class capable of defending the national interest. The nationalisation of the land and minerals effected by the Constitution, the four nationalisations a month after independence (health, education, law and funerals) and the nationalisation some months later of all rented property, meant that these sectors were placed under the control of the nation as a whole. Since the bulk of the economy had been in the hands of foreign entrepreneurs, nationalisation in the context of people's power served the function of simultaneously Mozambicanising and socialising the economy.

The sweat and blood of Mozambican workers is mixed in with the concrete of these tall luxury buildings which our fathers and mothers were never able to occupy except as servants, said Samora Machel, when declaring all rented accommodation to be nationalised. The people were taking back what they had produced; the class and the national principal

were one. At the same time a fierce combat against the incipient national bourgeoisie was necessary to prevent the emergence of a new group of local exploiters ('Kill the crocodile while it is small'), who by virtue of their selfish class interest would never be able to defend the interests of the nation as a whole.

A strong state economic sector was established in the fields of finance, imports and exports, and the wholesale trade; abandoned factories and farms were placed under public control; and an extensive network of consumer co-operatives was established. The result is that today production is geared to the needs of the producers and not to the interests of foreign investment companies, and such capitalist firms as exist have to work within the framework of the national plan. A FRELIMO leader in the countryside will express the class basis of nation-building as follows: We all remember how, in colonial times we were obliged by the beatings of the chiefs and their indunas to grow annual quotas of cotton for sale at pitiful prices to foreign companies, for export to the cotton factories of Portugal. Now the cotton we produce goes to our factories in our towns where our workers invest their labour and convert the cotton into shirts and blouses which come back to clothe us and the whole people. This cotton represents the working class-peasant alliance, it represents the unity of the whole of the nation.

The basis has now been created for a truly planned economy, the aim being to conquer hunger, illiteracy, lack of clothes and poverty by the end of the decade, and so eradicate the deeply rooted humiliation and under-development left by colonialism. The whole nation is regarded as responsible for contributing to the creation and implementation of the plan. The Prospective Indicative Plan (for the decade), declared Samora Machel to the Popular assembly:

> "is a fundamental achievement of the Mozambican workers . . . made by Mozambicans for Mozambicans. It helps us build our confidence in our own capacities and strengthens our belief in the immense creative force of the people . . . It is not a piece of wishful thinking or guesswork, nor a transplant from elsewhere, but the product of the effort of the Mozambican man, and as such a cause of pride to us all". (9)

History and Consciousness

Mozambique, like all countries, has a rich and varied history, though much of it remains unrecorded. There is no mistaking, however, the way in which known facts are interpreted. For example, the great kingdoms of Monomatapa, Zimbabwe and Gaza are not presented as proofs of a

glorious past which preceded colonialism, but as examples of feudal exploitation in terms of which a small group of royals surrounded themselves with religious awe and lived in splendour on the basis of tribute exacted from their artisan and farmer subjects. Many of these royals even participated in the sale of their subjects or of other conquered groups to slave traders. Some of the kings did resist colonial invasion, others were easily corrupted or intimidated, but even the most courageous suffered from a limited vision that prevented them from leading a national resistance of all the people. It was only when the working masses took control of the resistance struggle that it began to become truly national in its dimension.

Glory there was in the past, but it lay not in the lavish life-style of the feudal rulers; the true glory of Africa's past lay in the labour of the working people, in their vigorous culture, and in their unending and noble resistance to oppression, whether from foreign or local exploiters. It was the masses who bore the brunt of foreign domination, it was they who fought back in their daily lives, who in their songs, dances and stories kept the flames of independence alive even in the darkest days. Glory — not to the feudals — but to the people as a whole!

To those of us who, as an emotional counterweight to the Euro-centred and totally racist histories we suffered from in school, have spent years trying to Africanise the history of our continent, this class approach comes as quite a shock. Yet what immense confidence it reveals, this willingness, to apply the same scientific, people-centred vision of history to the African past as to the past of any other continent. Pride comes from the victories of the revolution, from the immense cultural upsurge which it has brought about, from the constant affirmation of its popular, Mozambican character, and not from an idealised and romanticised reconstruction of the past. On the contrary such romanticising creates an ideological climate favourable to what are regarded as the two main enemies of people's power: neo-colonialism and traditional feudalism, both of which play down the importance of class contradictions in Africa and both of which perpetuate the mentalities of subservience and underdevelopment. The objective is not to negate a mystified colonial history by means of a mystified pre-colonial history, but to de-mystify history altogether, so that the true role of the masses as its creator can be revealed.

In line with the firm position it took against traditional feudalism during the armed struggle, FRELIMO decided when looking for new names for streets after independence not to use the names of ancient kings and chiefs,

not even of those who had, in the circumstances of their times, best articulated the spirit of resistance of the people in the wars of defence of the land. Instead it chose the names of heroes without ambiguity, the current symbols of national pride: the combatants of FRELIMO who had fallen in the struggle. Also, in line with FRELIMO's internationalism, names were also taken from the heroes of struggle in other lands. Thus to get from the central hospital in Maputo to the Radio, you walk along Av. Agostinho Neto until you come to Av. Salvador Allende, go left until you reach the main street, Av. Eduardo Mondlane, turn right and keep going until you come to Av. Vladimir Lenine, when you go down until you hit Av. Patrice Lumumba, and then you have arrived.

Finally on the question of names, it is interesting to note that the name of the country itself was not changed, nor did its leaders change their own names — instead they changed the social reality. (10). In general, although it is recognised that some countries such as Zimbabwe and Namibia had to change their colonial designations, little enthusiasm is expressed for what are regarded as pseudo-Africanist posturings in terms of which some symbolical aspects of power are — amidst great publicity — tampered with, while the reality of neo-colonialist and traditional class power remains untouched. As the FRELIMO leader quoted above ('all colours are beautiful') added: what really was in issue at the time of independence was not how afro your appearance was, but the nationalisations and the steps taken to consolidate people's power.

Nationalism and Internationalism

The internationalist is the best patriot. This was the lesson of the armed struggle, and is the lesson of building the new society today.

At all crucial moments in the war of national liberation it was the class instinct of the masses that led to the isolation and defeat of reactionary elements inside FRELIMO, who, under the smoke-screen of ultra-nationalist phrases, were seeking to advance their personal ambitions and make deals with the enemy such as would have deprived the country of true independence.

Thus Lazaro Nkanvandame, long-time veteran of anti-colonial struggle and, at an important stage, political secretary of the largest liberated zone, walked what proved to be the very short road from chauvinism to treason. Calling for a sudden poqo-type of uprising rather than the protracted struggle necessary for people's revolutionary war, he envisaged capturing power in his region, and counterposed his tribalist and racist ideals to the

revolutionary line of Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel. All the while he was secretly negotiating for a regional independence, and then when the masses rejected him as a new would-be exploiter, and he was expelled from FRELIMO, he went right over to the enemy, broadcast for them and guided their armed attacks against FRELIMO bases. He was not the only one to hide his treachery behind ultra-nationalist slogans. (One is not referring here to the direct collaborators, or to the 'moderates' so beloved by the enemy, but to key people right in the ranks of the struggle, who often out-shouted their colleagues, accusing them of lack of militancy, softness towards the enemy, and so on). The Vice-President of FRELIMO at the time of Eduardo Mondlane's assassination, Uria Simango, was the arch-apostle of African authenticity, who insisted on a purely continental vision and objected to any condemnation of American imperialist intervention in Vietnam on the basis that 'the peasants of Niassa had no interest in foreign struggles'. A plausible person (he even managed to get a FRELIMO article under his name published in *The African Communist!)* Simango is said not to have even been a genuine racist, in that it was ambition and not belief that drove him opportunistically to adopt racism and anti-internationalism as his weapons. He too, after being expelled for grave violations of FRELIMO discipline, ended up in the camp of the very enemy he had formerly wished to exterminate in a stroke. In fact he became the key 'front-man' in the new strategy being masterminded by millionaire and ultra-reactionary Jardim, and backed by Vorster and Smith, which was to hand over formal power to the national bourgeoisie and deny the people led by FRELIMO the fruits of their bitter struggle.

In the meanwhile it was the internationalists, who had insisted, first, that the enemy be defined in terms of a system and not of a people, and, secondly, that the struggle against foreign domination in Mozambique be regarded as part of the struggle for emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the whole world, who proved themselves to be the only ones who fought relentlessly and to the end for the complete and unconditional independence of their country.

Colonialism, imperialism and capitalism have no colour, have no race, have no fatherland, declared Samora Machel, as the armed struggle was reaching its climax.

> "Racism divides the revolutionary forces, both internally and internationally. It destroys the meaning of our struggle and converts it into a reactionary race war. Our struggle is a revolutionary struggle of the exploited against the exploiters. Racism prevents us from integrating our struggle in the general struggle of

humanity against colonialism, imperialism and the exploitation of man; it openly places itself in opposition to internationalism, which is a fundamental aspect of our general line.
Racism fights against international solidarity. The experience of our Revolution proves that all peoples including the Portuguese people, and all races, including the whites, give support to our struggle". (11)

Thus FRELIMO's internationalism came from *within* the struggle and proved to be an essential ingredient for its victorious conclusion; African states gave inestimable help, but so did the socialist camp in terms of political and moral support, arms and military training (while the NATO bloc and some African states were supporting the colonial power). So did the democratic resistance in Portugal itself, which launched armed attacks against the sending of war supplies to the colonies, and which finally succeeded in overthrowing the fascist leadership. So did the democratic forces in all continents who protested against the colonialist massacres and supported the just struggle led by FRELIMO. Thus internationalism was not a moral posture or a conclusion arrived at in a Marxist study class. It expressed itself through living people: a Soviet film-maker in the liberated zones, doctors from Italy, teachers from Holland, a journalist from Britain, scholars from North America, all directly helping the liberation struggle.

Similarly internationalism remains a constant of the struggle today. The internationalist collaboration which is extended to Mozambique and the internationalist collaboration which is extended by Mozambique are inseparable faces of the same phenomenon. This was movingly shown during the armed struggle in Zimbabwe: the people of Mozambique, still bleeding from the wounds of their own struggle, nobly shed more of their blood so that Zimbabwe could be free; at the same time the capacity to use Soviet artillery, a product of internationalism, enabled Mozambique to repel armed Rhodesian invasions at crucial moments. The final result was a free and democratic Zimbabwe, itself pledged to the liberation of the whole of Southern Africa, and a Mozambican Independence considerably strengthened by having a friendly state on its borders.

An important feature of independence is the right to choose one's friends and allies. For many years FRELIMO documents spoke of the socialist countries as 'our natural allies.' Then they began to refer to the socialist camp as 'the liberated zone of humanity'. Mozambique today regards itself as a young and underdeveloped socialist state belonging to the same family as the older and more developed socialist states and having

relations with them not as donor and recipient ('we do not want aid, aid is for the poor') but as collaborators united by a common outlook, a common social system and a common struggle against imperialism. As an example, the Treaty of Friendship between Mozambique and the Soviet Union declares in effect that if Mozambique's sovereignty and territorial integrity are gravely threatened, the Soviet Union will come to her aid, and if the Soviet Union is attacked, Mozambique will come to her aid.

If Mozambique places itself firmly within the socialist camp, if it has particularly warm relations with countries such as the G.D.R. and Cuba, to mention just two, it is because hard experience has shown that only such countries have unambiguously helped to defend the gains of the Revolution and assisted the Mozambican people in their desire to build a socialist society and created the new man and woman. At the same time, this close collaboration with the socialist states based on the principles of working-class internationalism in no way inhibits the development of close political and economic relations with neighbouring African states, especially those in the front line of the struggle against apartheid and for economic independence, or with the Nordic countries and Holland, which collaborate closely in the economic development of Mozambique; nor with the countries such as Italy and now, Brazil and France, which for different reasons have special ties with Mozambique; nor with Portugal itself, with whom relations are now almost completely normalised.

Nor does it prevent the development of mutually beneficial trade and correct state relations with countries such as Britain and the USA. On the contrary, it is the solid foundation given to the construction of socialism by people's power internally and internationalist cooperation externally which permits the development of good relations with a number of capitalist states and even the encouragement of private investment in certain sectors without fear that thereby the country will be subverted or lose its sovereignty. Moreover, a clear internationalist position gives Mozambique the confidence and sharpness of vision to play a dynamic role in the Non-Aligned Movement and the OAU, as well as the United Nations and in other international forums. Thus, not only is the best internationalist the best patriot. The best patriot, he who has struggled for the liberation of his people, for the freeing of their talents and the flowering of their personality, is the best internationalist.

Conclusion

The Mozambican nation forges itself in the course of the Mozambican Revolution, and in doing so throws up a number of new ideas on the National

Question in Africa. These ideas need to be developed, but in the meantime it is suggested for consideration that: first, in most of Africa it has not been the existence of the nation which has led to the struggle for self-determination, but the struggle for self-determination which has created the nation.

Second, it has certainly not been colonialism which has created the nation out of a multitude of ethnic groups, but the struggle against colonialism which has done so.

Third, in the absence of ethnic solidarity, the only true basis for national unity is class solidarity.

Fourth, a correct definition of the nation presupposes a correct definition of the enemy.

Fifth, during the liberation struggle, the vanguard of the political struggle becomes the embryo of the future nation.

Sixth, after independence, the party and the state have a crucial role to play in consolidating the process of nation formation.

Seventh, for the nation to live, the tribe must die (a thesis frequently advanced by President Samora).

Eighth, in present-day African conditions, the process of nation formation can take place in a historically short time, with conscious or volitional factors playing an important role.

Ninth, at all stages the key to the solution of the national question is the establishment of people's power.

Notes

1. Samora Machel: *To Produce is to Learn,* document issued at the beginning of the Agricultural year, 1971, translation taken from introduction by Albie Sachs to the publication: *Mozambican Land Law,* produced in 1981 by the Committee on African Studies, Harvard University.
2. Samora Machel: *We must organise our resources in order to resolve the problems of the people,* I.N.L.D. Maputo 1980.
3. Samora Machel: Message read at the swearing-in ceremony of the Transitional government, 20 September 1974, published in *Datas e Documentos da Historia da FRELIMO* 2nd Edition 1975, Lourenco Marques (Maputo).
4. Graca Machel: Extract from speech published in eighth year school reading book and translated by Chris Searle in: *Beyond the Skin, How Mozambique is Defeating Racism,* published by Liberation, 313 Caledonian Road, London N1, also available from Mozambique, Angola and Guiné Bissau Information Centre (MAGIC) London..
5. Central Committee Report to the Third Congress of FRELIMO, published by MAGIC, 34 Percy Street, London W1P 9FG.
6. See note 3 above.

7. Ibid.
8. Sergio Viero, interview with Radio Maputo, broadcast in September 1981.
9. Samora Machel, final address to the Eighth Session of the People's Assembly, published in *Noticias,* Maputo, 7 October 1981.
10. A number of towns and suburbs with colonial names were given new names usually on the basis of popular usage — thus Lourenco Marques was called Maputo after the river of that name. Sports clubs also Mozambicanised and de-racialised their names.
11. Samora Machel: *We must Make Ourselves Impervious to all Subversive Manoeuvres, Intensifying the Ideological and Organisational Offensive amongst the Militants and the Masses* — 1973, published by Imprensa Nacional, Lourenco Marques (Maputo) 1975. This document cries out to be translated.



DOING SOMETHING USEFUL

By Gala

In the winter the rain came down in sheets for days on end and when it stopped for a while a stench hung over the district, rising from blocked drains and rotting piles of rubbish. On the roofs could be seen people moving about, plugging leaks and patching holes. The landlords generally made each tenant responsible for repairs. We lived in a small house with a tiny backyard where we had to take our baths, where my mother hung the washing, and which opened on to a narrow and smelly lane. The odours from there in summer hardly competed with those of winter. We seemed to live in a constant atmosphere of bad smells against which my parents waged a stubborn battle often diverted to the mouse and bedbug front. This seemed to be a regular feature of life in that area of Cape Town.

My parents were of the working-class, but they were also class and politically conscious people. My mother worked in a cigarette factory, while my father was actively engaged in trade-union and political work. I do not remember my parents ever sermonising me as child, but one was always being advised to devote oneself to "something useful," or to "lead a useful life."

A picture of Lenin hung in our livingroom. Very often people came to visit and I would hover on the outskirts of the conversations, listening to chats about politics, trade-union work, or "the Party." I also had an Aunt Maggie who was a staunch member of the garment workers and a class-conscious woman. She was one of those hard-case workers who stood on the picket lines during the garment strike. She related these incidents to the family with a mixture of amusement and anger. Her husband, Uncle Bob, named their house "Stalingrad" during the war. Apparently all this was part of dedicating oneself to "leading a useful life". I remember too that, being somewhat of a schoolboy artist, I was asked to help paint posters, decorate the banners or illustrate the leaflets which my father's work demanded.

Perhaps this helped one to see a little more clearly than other children what really went on around oneself. Life went on in the slums, and many succumbed. As children we enjoyed the periodic spots of gaiety. There was the New Year Carnival, or the weekly procession of the Salvation Army: the thumping of the big drum and the clatter of tambourines while a horde of us, mainly ragged children, pranced behind towards the barracks to the music of "Brother take the hand of brother, Marching to the promised land . . ." In this case the "Promised Land" seemed to be a hall where they served mugs of watery soup to the "poor and needy" in exchange for more prayers and hymn-singing. But nothing seemed to change in the slums: knife fights, gang warfare, gambling. My childhood friends disappeared into this teeming limbo of bad smells, dirty alleyways and cheap liquor.

Something Else

But of course there was something else, as time moved on. One attended the meetings eventually. We young ones were made to pass the hat around while the leaders held forth on the platform. I was always happy to find some missing school chum in the audiences, in the marches and demonstrations. We were at last beginning to do "something useful" with our lives.

At high-school I discovered that we were being taught by 'politically conscious' teachers. After classes we were invited to attend lectures of a 'political nature.' There I heard long and dull discourses about the 'permanent revolution' as well as dire criticisms of and outright attacks on the Soviet Union. This was offensive to me, for in our family we had always been taught to cherish and admire the Socialist Sixth of the World. I soon gave up attendance of these 'activities' which also went under the guise of 'cultural programmes.'

I went through my teens in the atmosphere of anti-fascism, anti-Nazism. There was the Spanish Civil War and then the Nazi invasion of Europe and the Soviet Union. In the factory where I worked we manufactured metal 'dixies' for the army. My fellow workers listened with a certain curiosity to my youthful talks relating the manufacture of metal containers for soldiers to the struggle against fascism, oppression, exploitation. I was described as 'a Communist' and they elected me to the factory committee. When later a strike was organised for better pay and conditions, the whole committee was fired. I recall a somewhat juvenile talk I gave on the meaning of the 'class struggle.'

The end of the war did not mean the end of fascism in South Africa. But certainly the anti-Nazi struggle had opened the eyes and given confidence to many. In our community there was a greater interest in politics; in the national liberation movement; in the Communist Party. Especially, the struggle of the black people for liberation was developing — one had to belong, somehow.

The Whites

But there was something else which one remembered.

Next door to our house had actually lived a white family. When their babies were sick, my mother was called in to help. They borrowed rice and sugar from her. They were as hard-pressed as we were. True enough, they eventually disappeared from the district, probably to live in some 'white' area. But they had actually been in our street.

After the 'dixie' factory I worked for a big commercial firm. Apart from the usual clerks and managers, there was one who was the firm's printer, producing company stationery. He was an ordinary white worker, in a 'skilled trade' of course. He had been with the firm for more than twenty years, and considered himself part of the Company. Yet when the Company reorganised itself, this man received a circular letter (possibly one of the forms he had himself printed) bluntly informing him that his

services were no longer required. He was aghast. After all these years! I remember him staring at me, a black worker, recounting all the service he had given the Company. And to my horror, he burst into tears. Perhaps at that moment, at the back of his mind, he might have felt himself at one with US.

One was concerned with black liberation. But we had also demonstrated on behalf of people of Europe; of Spain, Germany; against the horrors of the concentration camps and the execution of revolutionaries afar. One had to be able to be both a patriot and an internationalist. So on that basis there was only one party to turn to. It had to be the Communist Party.



SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS UNDER ATTACK

THE STRUGGLE FOR HEARTS AND MINDS

By Robert Fuller

The past two years have been one of the most turbulent periods in the history of South Africa's legal press and newspaper industry. Drastic censorship measures have been imposed by the apartheid government to curtail yet further what vestiges remained of press freedom in South Africa. The two largest selling black newspapers in the country, *Post* and *Sunday Post,* were forced to cease production, and on the labour front the most widespread strike of media workers ever seen in South Africa took place at the end of 1980.

The suppression of news of popular and armed resistance in South Africa and the attack by the bosses and the state on media workers are not two separate issues but are together part of the Nationalist regime's 'total strategy'.

At the end of June 1980 the Minister of Justice announced the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the mass media under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Steyn, former Administrator General of Namibia. Its brief was "to inquire into and report on the question whether the conduct of and the handling of matters by the mass media meet the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times, and if not, how they can be improved" (*Star* 28.6.80).

The very announcement of the appointment of the commission implied that "the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times" were not being met by the mass media and that urgent steps needed to be taken to ensure that they were.

When the Commission was appointed, fears were expressed in virtually every newspaper, even pro-government Afrikaans papers, that further restrictions were on the way. Indeed one of the main recommendations of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into press reporting on defence and police matters, which was completed just before the announcement of the mass media inquiry, was for the media and government to formulate a communications policy as an integral part of the government's 'total strategy'.

This is not the first time that press and government have come into collision. One remembers the first press commission appointed by the Nationalist Government in 1950 which deliberated for 14 years and produced two ineffective reports before being disbanded in 1964. And one of the reasons why the government abandoned its frontal attack at that time was because in 1962, in return for exemption from the censorship provisions of the Undesirable Publications Bill (later enacted as the Publications and Entertainments Act), the members of the Newspaper Press Union adopted a Code of Conduct in terms of which they agreed to censor themselves. Clause 3(d) of the Code read:

> "Comment should take due cognisance of the complex racial problems of South Africa and should take into account the general good and safety of the country and its peoples".

Strong objection to the whole code of conduct was voiced by the South African Society of Journalists, which said of clause 3(d):

> "We say without hesitation that this clause requires the journalist and the editor to modify the expression of honest opinion on political grounds... We believe that the last clause of the code of conduct means plainly that criticism of present government policy must be toned down".

In a memorandum submitted to the National Press Union, the Society of Journalists stressed:

> "The press should not relieve the government from the odium which will and should attach to political censorship of the press. An evil is no less an evil because it is self-inflicted".

Over the years it became clear, however, that the government was not satisfied that the press was policing itself adequately. On May 1, 1980, Prime Minister P.W. Botha said:

> "I appeal to newspaper editors to draw up a policy for their newspapers which will prevent radical and revolutionary elements getting the headlines... If the editors do not do this, then the government will see that it is done".

On February 1, 1982, the Steyn Commission's report was tabled in the House of Assembly. It recommended the compulsory registration of all journalists on a central roll from which those found guilty of "improper conduct" could be struck off by a General Council for Journalists which would control entry into the profession. Anyone who employed or published or broadcast the work of an unenrolled journalist would be guilty of an offence. The council would have 12 members, who would serve for two years: three would be government appointees, three chosen by newspaper journalists, three by magazine journalists and three by broadcasting journalists. Since all broadcasting is state-controlled, it is clear the commission would be an instrument of government, but to make sure, the commission recommended that during the first year of its life all the members should be appointed by the government. Clearly it is intended that in future the press should publish only what the government wants it to publish.

So great was the outcry against the Commission's proposals that Prime Minister Botha hastened to distance himself from them, saying no decision would be taken without consulting "newspaper owners and other interested parties". Bearing in mind the previous compromises accepted by the press barons, this hardly inspires confidence that freedom of the press will survive, mutilated as it already is. In anticipation of the recommendations of the Commission and in order to pre-empt the imposition of more direct controls by the government, the management of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) in 1981 dismissed the editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Allister Sparks. It was claimed that Sparks' editorial style had led to falling sales and the driving away of advertisers. While this is possibly true, the timing of the action and the appointment of the conservative editor of the *Sunday Times* to replace Sparks suggest that SAAN were more concerned to appease the government than maintain the paper's anti-apartheid editorial image. SAAN did voluntarily for the government what it for a

long time had wished to do but had refrained from doing because of fear of international repercussions.

While the Botha regime has always abhorred the exposure of the reality of apartheid, the action by SAAN reflects also the contradiction between press freedom and capitalist profit-making. The chairman of a prominent advertising agency commenting on the *Rand Daily Mail* affair said; "We're interested in one thing only, readers who respond to ads... If the readers don't find the news content satisfying, stimulating and presented in a way which holds them, then they're not going to see our ads" *(Financial Mail* 12.6.81). In other words, the truth is bad for business.

A Barrage of Legislation

As the struggle against the racist regime has intensified, so the government has responded by introducing additional legislation to suppress news coverage of resistance to apartheid, information about police and military activities and other security-related strategic information.

The regime knows the propaganda effect of the reporting of militant actions by the ANC. In the 1970's when dozens of ANC leaflet bombs exploded in city centres scattering agitational literature, the widespread reporting of these incidents greatly increased their propaganda value. Today acts of sabotage in the heart of a city still gain prominent coverage in the press because they are witnessed by masses of people and hence cannot be concealed. How many other incidents take place away from the public eye and which therefore go unreported, can only be guessed. The regime knows that the report of any incident of sabotage or popular resistance is received with acclaim by the oppressed masses but with trepidation by their white followers and black lackeys.

The regime also knows that a major source of intelligence information for their enemies is the press and other sources of publicity or legally available information. The multitude of laws which prohibit the publishing of information of a strategic nature are designed to thwart their enemy's intelligence-gathering operations. While this forces the liberation movement to extend its covert forms of intelligence-gathering, it does make the task more difficult.

The legislation constricting press freedom which has been brought into force during the past few years has in each instance been in response to specific incidents or sustained bouts of criticism of the regime.

The 1979 *Police Amendment Act* made it an offence to publish 'untrue' information about the actions of the police in the performance of their

duties unless the newspaper had "reasonable grounds for believing that the statement is true". The onus of proving the 'reasonableness' of the grounds rests on the newspapers. The heavy penalties (up to R19,000 or five years in prison) have had the effect of severely restricting reports of police actions. This places the police in the same position with regard to news coverage as the prisons and defence force. At the same time as the promulgation of the new Act, the Police Directorate of Public Relations was set up "to help the press", and is now the main source of information about police actions and detainees.

This amendment to the Police Act was made, the Minster of Police claimed, because it was intolerable that the police were presented as oppressors rather than the protectors of the people. There was no intention to curb the freedom of the press but merely to prevent the publication of untrue statements, he said. This was three years after Soweto and the most prolonged period of police repression and murder in the country's history.

The 1979 *Inquest Act* made it a crime to "prejudice or anticipate" the proceedings or findings at an inquest. This measure was a response to the worldwide outcry caused by the reporting of the inquest into the death of Steve Biko.

In response to the tightening oil embargo against South Africa and the arms embargo, the *Petroleum Products Amendment Act* and the *National Supplies Procurement Act* were passed in 1979. These measures were designed to maintain secrecy about strategic purchases and products.

A mere fortnight after ANC guerillas successfully attacked the oil-from-coal installations at Sasolburg and Secunda in June 1980, the *National Key Points Act* was passed to prevent publication without the permission of the Minister of Defence of incidents relating to the security at classified national key points (ie. key installations and industries).

The 1980 *Police Amendment Act* prevents the publication of any information relating to the constitution, movements, deployment and methods of the police for the "prevention or combating of terrorist activities" (including activities of the SAP acting jointly with the SADF or the South African Railways Police) and of any information about "terrorists" not released by the Commissioner of Police. The Minister of Police said that the new legislation was intended to give the police time to carry out follow-up operations against guerillas.

Reporting of the police "anti-terrorist" action was extended to the Railways Police by a provision contained in the *South African Transport Services Act* which was passed in August 1981. The clause also effectively prohibits the disclosure of the names or any details of people who might be

arrested in the course of Railway Police action. The provision is similar in all respects to the amendments to the Police Act mentioned above.

These additions to the plethora of laws restricting the news that may be published, or requiring official authorization before publication, bring the number of such laws to over 100.

In September 1981 the Transkei Bantustan passed a press bill amending the *Criminal Law Amendment Act*. The amendment is aimed at controlling "the communication of information prejudicial to the interests of the state" and requires a journalist to disclose to a commissioned policeman the source of information or the way in which it is received. Failure to do so can result in a fine of up to R3,000 or a jail sentence of up to three years, and any public servant who is named by the journalist as the source of information is subject to the same penalties (*Star* 12.9.81).

Controlling Journalists

To supplement their legislative control over what gets printed the regime has resorted to controlling the movements of journalists by excluding them from 'operational areas' in which security forces are taking repressive action. Only selected groups of local journalists, under police escort, may now enter these areas.

This first happened in June 1980, after the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, claimed that police had seen foreign TV cameramen inciting black youths to riot. Foreign journalists are now forbidden to enter 'operational areas' altogether.

In August 1981 a new agreement between the police and the press aimed at achieving "a free flow of information" was signed. The agreement provides, among other things, for the issue of new press identity cards to journalists on an annual basis. The editor of each news organisation will issue cards only to those 'whose integrity he is personally prepared to vouch for'. In this way a category of accredited journalists will be created who will have access to the Commissioner to discuss confidential information. Possession of a valid press card enables a journalist to interview the senior police officer or station commander in the particular area and obtain information for publication. An accredited journalist may also, with police permission, enter and remain in an area under police control from which the public is excluded (*Star* 13.8.81).

In addition to these legislative restrictions, investigative journalists have been subjected to severe harassment by police. Many have been detained, held for long periods of questioning or as a 'preventative' measure. Some have been banned and others have been deported.

The traditional methods of threatening direct action against particular newspapers and censorship measures such as the banning of publications continue unabated.

In January 1981 the black newspapers *Post* and *Sunday Post* were effectively banned when the government threatened to ban them if they attempted to re-register after their registration had lapsed following a strike by editorial staff which lasted for eight weeks. The Minister of Justice said that the government had decided to ban the newspapers because they were trying to create a climate of revolution. The *Post* newspapers, he claimed, had become vehicles for activism, militancy, far-left radicalism and subversion. *Post* had published the entire Freedom Charter, and had devoted much space to ANC propaganda (*Rand Daily Mail* 28.1.81).

Government misinformation and non-information

In an effort to counteract the growing support for the ANC and its allies inside the country, the pro-government Afrikaner press, the pro-government English language newspaper, the *Citizen,* and even some other English-language papers have been propagating untruths and distortions about the liberation movement, its leadership and its policies.

Each time a successful armed action takes place inside the country certain white members of the ANC and SACP are blamed for planning the act and for instructing the guerillas involved to go into action. The racists resort to such misinformation to create the impression that black people are incapable of running their own revolution and therefore need whites to show them how to do it. The racists are also attempting to discredit the ANC among blacks by spreading the lie that the ANC is run by a handful of white communists whose instructions are given to them by Moscow and who therefore are manipulating the ANC in the interests of a foreign communist power and not for black freedom.

This propaganda lie is repeated so frequently and so crudely that on the whole it has no effect on black South Africans. However, the secondary intention of such allegations is to lead white South Africans and the Western world to believe that the ANC is controlled by the SACP which in turn has its strings pulled by those in the Kremlin. The Reagan administration and other Western governments are in agreement with Pretoria that ANC rule will mean the 'loss' of South Africa to the West and that control of South Africa's vast storehouse of strategic minerals and the vital Cape sea route will automatically be transferred to the Soviet Union.

A propaganda tactic long employed by Pretoria is the straightforward omission of certain information in their press releases. During the South

African invasion of Angola starting in August 1981, there were a number of complaints by the press about government secrecy. The first reports of the invasion in the South African press were based on Angolan allegations. These allegations were met with denials by the South African military authorities, leaving the public wondering whether the country was engaged merely in routine pursuit operations, or whether it was on the brink of a dangerously escalating war. In this way any defeats which the racists may have sustained at the outset of the invasion could have been dismissed as enemy propaganda. Once certain objectives of their invasion had been achieved, the South African military announced their presence in Angola as an operation aimed solely at 'flushing out' SWAPO bases.

Media workers' strike

In *The African Communist*, No 85, second quarter 1981, p.25 brief details were given of the media workers' strike which took place in 1980.

The eight-week national strike, which started at the *Cape Herald* in October 1980, spread throughout the English-language newspaper industry. The support given to the strikers by progressive organisations throughout the country and internationally was truly inspiring. The breadth and momentum of the strike were made possible by the formation of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA), which came into existence barely two weeks before the strike began.

MWASA was formed in October 1980 following a highly successful strike at the *Post* newspaper. It was formed on the disbandment of the Writers' Association of South Africa (WASA), which was formed in 1977 after the banning of the Union of Black Journalists (UBJ) in October 1977. WASA was dissolved because it was clear that a new organisation was needed which had a broader base to counteract the sustained attacks on the black press. The aims of the new organisation proclaimed at its inaugural meeting were to promote the interests of all black workers in the publications industry, to engender a spirit of self-reliance and competence among black workers in the media, to provide training for members and to engage in activities that would benefit the black community.

Although the strike was highly successful and MWASA scored a significant moral victory, it did not emerge from the dispute unscathed. Five of its leading activists were banned; Zwelakhe Sisulu (MWASA President), Marimuthu Subramoney (MWASA National Vice-President and Natal Regional Secretary), Mathatha Tsedu (MWASA Northern Transvaal Regional Secretary), Phil Mthimkulu (MWASA Acting

President) and Joe Thloloe (MWASA Acting Vice-President), and the country's two biggest black newspapers, the *Post* and the *Sunday Post,* were effectively banned.

By expanding the *Herald* strike into a national strike over broader issues, MWASA attracted the wrath not only of management but also of the state. The result was the removal of key personnel in the hope of producing a much tamer press.

The state's attack on progressive black journalists did not end with bannings. At the end of June 1981 Thami Mazwai, the National Secretary of MWASA and the news editor of the *Sowetan,* the new daily paper which replaced the *Post,* was detained. A few days late Zwelakhe Sisulu was also detained. By September 1981 twelve MWASA journalists in the Transvaal had been banned since the formation of the union.

MWASA has condemned the bannings and detentions of journalists whose only 'crime' was to expose the government's racist policies. The union also refused to appear before the Steyn Commission unless those detained were released or charged publicly in a court of law.

In November 1981 Premier P.W. Botha lashed out at South Africa's black press — which he termed negativist, destructive and anarchistic — and warned it to "put its house in order... (or) if they fail to do so, the government will take steps to do it for them" (*Rand Daily Mail* 5.11.81).

The structure of South Africa's press industry

It has often been asserted — by foreign observers and by the South African press itself — that South Africa has a 'free press', even if only a relatively free one, because a certain amount of criticism of government policy is tolerated. Most of this criticism has come from the English-language press which over the years has been branded by the nationalist regime as unpatriotic, biased, anti-Afrikaner and seen as agents of South Africa's enemies. Numerous commissions of inquiry into the press have been conducted since the Nationalists came to power in 1948. The first dragged on for 14 years and eventually fizzled out with its work incomplete. Restrictive legislation introduced over the decades has limited what may be reported, but criticism of government policy has continued to appear in the press. How is it that a regime so hostile to criticism has done virtually nothing to change this state of affairs? A brief look at the structure of South Africa's press industry provides the answer.

The apartheid regime has learnt over the years that criticism of their policies by the 'opposition' English-language press has done little to alter

voting patterns in their disfavour. The criticism is accepted for what it is — as a means by the English-language press to gain and maintain readers, not as a calculated plot to overturn the status quo.

South Africa's English-language press consists of two major newspaper groups: Argus South African Newspapers, and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN). The former publishes, amongst others, *The Star* (Johannesburg), *Pretoria News, The Argus* (Cape Town), *Daily News* (Durban), *The Friend* (Bloemfontein), *Sowetan* (Johannesburg), *Sunday Tribune* (Durban) and the *Cape Herald* (Cape Town). Argus also controls the Central News Agency (CNA) chain of stores which distributes newspapers and magazines. SAAN publishes, amongst others, the *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), *Cape Times* (Cape Town), *Eastern Province Herald* (Port Elizabeth), *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), *Sunday Express* (Johannesburg) and the *Financial Mail* (Johannesburg).

The major shareholders of the Argus group are: Charter Consolidated (10% of ordinary shares); Central News Agency (3.2%); Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (17.9%); SAAN (7%); Argus Voting Trust (27.9%); S.A. Mutual (6.5%); J.C.I. Pension and Gratuities Fund (6%). Charter Consolidated and Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (17.9%); SAAN (7%); Argus Voting Trust (27.9%); S.A. Mutual (6.5%); J.C.I. Pension and Gratuities Fund (6%). Charter Consolidated and Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, the major shareholders outside the Argus Voting Trust, are both Anglo-American linked companies. Argus holds 39% of the ordinary shares in SAAN and SAAN holds 7% of the ordinary shares in Argus. Both companies have major shareholdings in Allied Publishing Company, which distributes their newspapers.

The government has always been hostile to the so-called "geldmag", the big business interests which are largely in the hands of the non-Afrikaans section of the community. To curb the influence of big business on the opposition press, the Steyn Commission has recommended that no single investor should be able to hold more than 1 per cent of the total shares of either SAAN or Argus and cross holdings would be forbidden. The owners of small family-owned newspapers like Durban's *Natal Mercury,* Maritzburg's *Natal Witness* and East London's *Daily Dispatch* would be required to divest themselves of all but 10% of their shares. Clearly the idea is that by separating the press from its big business backers, the voice of opposition to apartheid can be silenced.

Sales of newspapers are tied to what their readers want to read. This presents a major contradiction for the white owners of the black daily

newspapers. Quite clearly most black readers would like to read more about the victories scored by Umkhonto we Sizwe against the racist state, more about strikes and acts of popular resistance, and more politically inspiring articles which go beyond the mere criticism of apartheid. Dull, anodyne reporting reflecting in the last instance the views of the white bosses and presenting the picture that the state apparatus has the security situation under control, does not appeal to readers in the black townships. This is borne out by the difference in the average daily sales between the *Post* immediately prior to its (effective) banning in January 1981 (113,000), and the *Sowetan* by September 1981, eight months after it came into existence (65,300).

Conclusion

The government is openly mobilising its forces to ensure that newspapers obey its dictates. By censoring all sources of news and getting editors to apply self-censorship, the regime is bringing about a situation where the only news will be artificial news — state misinformation and rumour arising out of lack of information.

State control of information does not only apply to the press. Both radio and television are under direct state control and therefore important organs of racist propaganda. Separate 'white' and 'black' radio programmes and TV channels serve to reinforce the notion of a culturally divided nation. The banning of books continues unabated, pornography and 'communism' being the two main objects of the censors' proscriptive urge.

The censorship of the legal press places a great responsibility on the liberation movement. The ANC and SACP must expand their underground propaganda work, providing news and views which are vital for the mobilisation of the people in the struggle against the racist regime. In time our underground publications will provide the basis for a truly free people's press when South Africa is finally liberated.

AFRICA NOTES AND COMMENTS

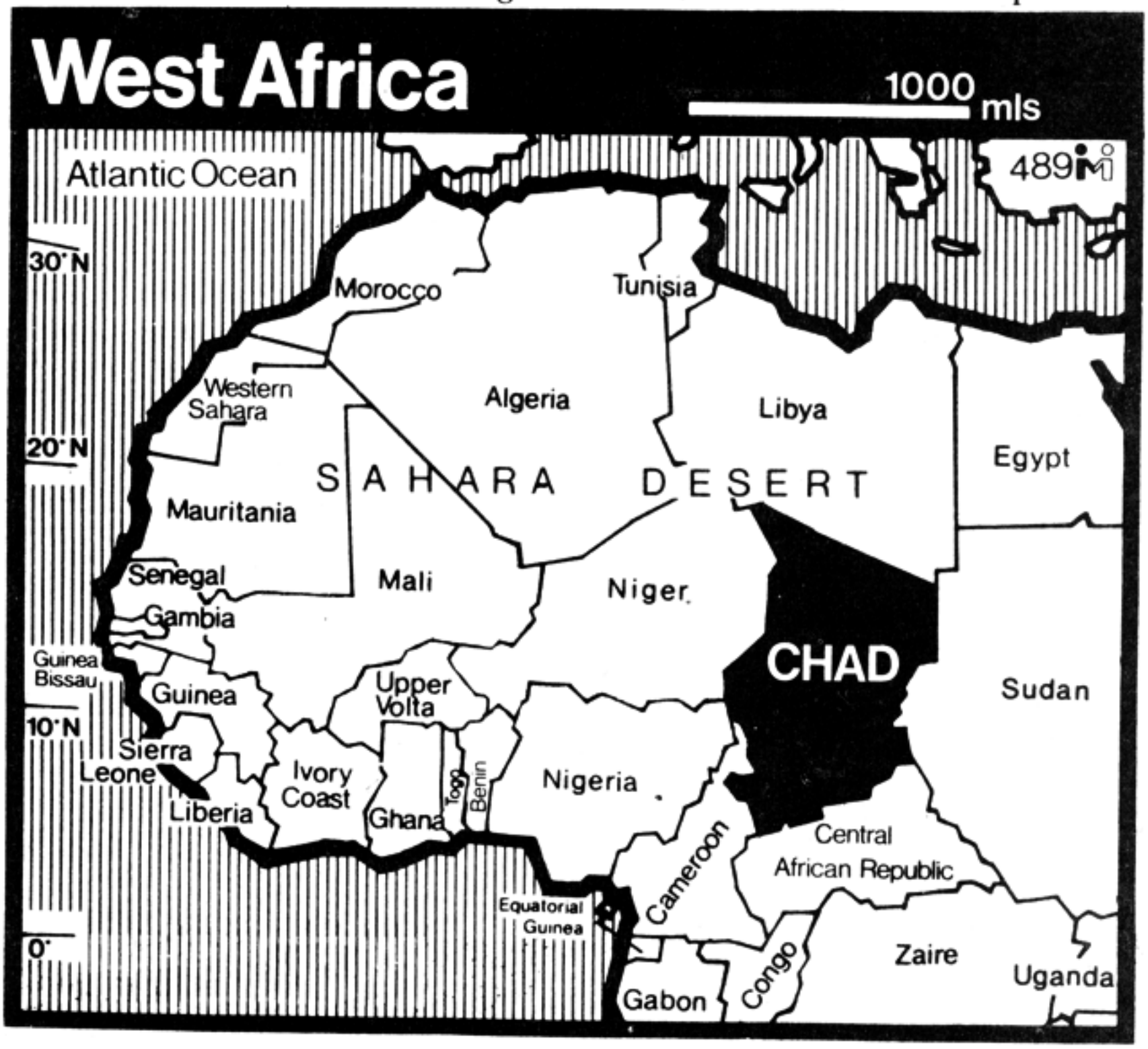
by A. Azad

CHAD: BREAD NOT GUNS

To unravel the exceptionally complex and contradictory threads of the situation in Chad is a Herculean task. The country is not only divided on tribal, ethnic and religious lines, but there are at least 12 armed factions which control one or more areas of the country. Over the past few years the armed hostilities between the different factions have virtually turned the country, especially the capital N'Djamena, into a battlefield. Basic foodstuffs, which were already in short supply, have more or less run out. In the last two years there were periods when government employees were not paid any salaries. In the midst of all these armed clashes the workers and peasants of Chad were the main sufferers, and they above all desire a peaceful, stable Chad in which their families can obtain the basic nutritional and medical necessities of life.

The Chad Liberation Front FROLINAT had for years carried out an extensive guerilla warfare against a reactionary central government which was aided and abetted by French military troops. FROLINAT's basic drive was the unity of Chad and its ideology was anti-imperialist. However, by 1979 central authority had all but collapsed and those factions with military forces could and did claim authority over different parts of the country.

As a result of the mediation of Nigeria, the Lagos accords were signed by the main contending parties on August 18, 1979. In terms of the accords Goukounni Oueddi was accepted as head of state. A Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT) which included veterans of FROLINAT was set up. This could have been the beginning of peace in Chad. But it was not to be. Hissen Habre, at that time Minister of Defence, encouraged by France, refused to abide by the accords and continued with his military provocations and terrorism. The GUNT nevertheless is composed of all the other main military and political groupings. The main military forces are: those controlled by Oueddi; by Mahamat Ábba Said, Minister of Interior in the central zone; Ahmar Acyl, the Foreign Minister; and those of the vice-president Adel Kader Kamougue. The military forces under Oueddi are mainly Muslims and those under Kamougue, Catholics. Amongst the political forces are l'Union Nationale Democratique (UND) which has one Minister in the government, and the Movement pour la



Liberation du Tchad (MPCT) which is reputed to be very closely allied to the Nigerian government.

Habre's armed provocation and attacks created a civil war type situation. Thus, in order to stabilise the situation, create an atmosphere of law and order and enable the GUNT to try and solve some of the most pressing problems, Oueddi asked for the assistance of Libya. Colonel Gaddafi complied with this request and sent in a limited number of troops. The presence of these troops certainly brought about some military and political stability, many more workers and civil servants were being paid and Habre was forced to retreat and seek sanctuary in neighbouring Sudan. At that time French imperialism was still backing Habre. However Habre chose instead to rely more on US imperialism which, through Egypt and Sudan, supplied his rebel forces with finance and sophisticated military equipment. The unholy trio of US imperialism, reactionary Egypt and Sudan also launched a worldwide vicious anti-Libyan, anti-Gaddafi campaign. They hate the anti-imperialist position of Libya and its tough opposition to the capitulationist Camp David agreement between Zionist Israel and Egypt. They focussed world attention on the presence of Libyan troops, ignoring the fact that they were there at the invitation of a legitimate government, and built up hysteria about the bogey Gaddafi wanting to swallow up West Africa. They also roped in some other heads of states to support their stand.

Intervention

At this point France intervened. Having decided that Habre was in the pay of US imperialism, it chose to shift its support to Oueddi. But in order not to upset the Reagan administration overmuch, France also stepped up the demand for the withdrawal of Libyan troops. In fact President Oueddi has publicly admitted that he was compelled by France and a few African states to call for the withdrawal of the Libyan military presence.

The way in which the imperialist mass media conducted its notoriously dirty campaign against Libya is illustrated by the following facts. On October 27, two days before Oueddi requested the withdrawal of Libyan troops, Major Jalloud of Libya was holding discussions in N'Djamena on mutual problems. The AFP agency circulated a story that this visit was to prepare a coup d'etat by Ahmat Acyl, who is close to the Libyans. In fact no such coup was planned. Later the imperialist mass media unleashed a mendacious campaign based on their assumption that it would take Gaddafi some time to withdraw his troops. Colonel Gaddafi exposed the slanderous

nature of these speculations by withdrawing the troops with amazing rapidity over a period of about one month — a remarkable military feat.

Meanwhile the bourgeois media conveniently ignored the fact that at the same time France was hurriedly improving the equipment of the French Foreign Legion at its base in the Central African Republic. Mirage planes, armoured vehicles and Puma helicopters were urgently dispatched to this base. President Mitterand also let it be known that if the Libyan troops did not withdraw he was prepared to send in the Foreign Legion. This group of cut-throats has, over the long years of French colonialism, been responsible for the murder, mutilation and torture of thousands of Africans.

It was also France who led the way in demanding the creation of an Inter-African peace-keeping force to replace the Libyans. This highly important decision — the first time the OAU has set up such a force — was not taken at any OAU conference, but was arrived at after so-called bilateral discussions, and at the initiative and demand of an outside power — France.

As soon as the Libyans withdrew, Habre's rebel forces, Armed Forces of the North, launched an offensive in the eastern part of the country. The rebel forces seized an important town, Achebe, and smaller places such as Iriba, Adre and Guerada.

The response of the Inter-African force was slow. Originally six countries — Nigeria, Zaire, Senegal, Togo, Guinea and Benin — were to contribute detachments of soldiers. However, a month after the Libyan withdrawal only Zairean troops had arrived. Later, acrimony between Zaire and Nigeria was to complicate matters, for Nigeria refused to attend a hastily organised summit meeting called by Zaire for November 20, 1981. By January 1982 there were still no troops from Togo, Guinea and Benin, due to financial and logistical problems. The absence of troops from the latter two countries is causing a lot of concern to the progressive forces in Chad, since they hoped that troops from these countries would help to balance those from Zaire and Senegal. It is also reported that Oueddi tried in vain to get Ethiopia to agree to be a part of this Inter-African force.

The Inter-African force of 5,000 is under the command of a Nigerian, General G. O. Ejiga. All of them come under the authority of the OAU Secretary-General Edema Kodjo. In turn an Ethiopian, Gebregziabber Dawit, will represent Kodjo and preside over an administrative committee composed of Benin, Congo, Guinea and Kenya. In addition there is also an OAU observer team comprising Kenya (chairman), Algeria, Gabon, Congo, Guinea-Bissau and Zambia. The OAU mandate is rather vague and general. Its main tasks — as agreed — are to help keep the peace, supervise

elections due in mid-1982, and to assist in the building of an integrated Chadian army.

Responsibility of OAU

But at the time of writing the interpretation of how they intend to keep the peace is favourable to Habre and not the GUNT. The OAU says they will fire only if fired upon. That would still enable Habre's rebel force to pursue its course of armed attacks, occupation of territory and destabilisation. It would seem logical for the Inter-African force to defend the legitimate government which invited it in the first place. Not surprisingly, Oueddi is already sceptical about the role and functions of this force and has threatened once again to call upon Libya for help and support. In the event of the Inter-African force playing the role of a referee, Habre's forces, which continue to receive sophisticated military hardware and finance from the United States, would be able to sustain their offensive and extend their occupation of Chadian territory. Moreover Zaire, Senegal and Nigeria are relying upon the military and financial support of the imperialist countries to transport and maintain their forces in Chad. To be successful, the OAU has to decide clearly that its main tasks and functions can only be fulfilled if they help the GUNT under President Oueddi to bring a measure of peace, stability and law and order into the country.

US imperialism seems to have a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand we can see support for Habre as leader of the Armed Forces of the North, to ensure that his rebel forces capture enough territory to make it feasible to impose him on the GUNT as a central figure in any settlement: the Chadian Savimbi. On the other hand some of the European imperialist powers seem to prefer to drop Habre, and to place his rebel forces under a more acceptable leader as an important factor in any negotiations. This is because it is known that Oueddi has branded Habre a criminal and refuses to negotiate with him. The Southerners under the command of Kamourgue hate Habre whom they blame for the massacre of Southerners in N'Djamena in the first months of 1980. What is certain is that the imperialist powers have never had any interest in meeting the genuine aspirations of the African people. They are interested in plundering the resources of Chad, especially its rich deposits of uranium.

In the midst of this chaotic minefield of problems and contradictions the progressive forces have to struggle under immensely difficult conditions. One such Party is l'Union Nationale Democratique (UND) which was

formed in 1974. Since 1979 it has operated legally and was a participant at all the meetings leading to the Nigerian accords. Its General Secretary, Dr Facho Balaam, is Minister of Geology, Mines, Transport and Energy. The UND, which has adopted the science of Marxism-Leninism, has two immediate aims: To fight for a definitive peace in Chad, since this is a prerequisite for further development, and to create a wide patriotic front of all progressive forces campaigning around a minimum six-point programme to contest the scheduled elections.

The six points include fighting for national unity; territorial integrity; reorganisation of the economy, administrative structures and educational and social systems; full participation of the masses in socio-political life and the recognition of French and Arabic as the two official languages of a secular state. The UND is genuinely concerned to preserve the unity of Chad and is aware that this can only be achieved by recognising and taking into account its multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-linguistic composition. They welcome the richness and diversity to be found within the nation and reject the notion that differences inevitably lead to division.

The UND has no military force of its own. Whilst recognising that this creates problems, since the strength of the contending forces is dependent upon their military capacity, they are convinced that by refusing to create a military force they can become a truly national party not identified with any one tribe, ethnic or religious group or area. In a short space of time they have succeeded in establishing a presence in almost all the major areas of the country and they are extending their influence, especially amongst the youth. They have a growing number of militant and politically conscious cadres and have embarked on an ambitious programme to provide high level political training to many of their cadres. In the present situation in Chad the UND comes out with its journal *Djaama* regularly. It is mimeographed — produced inside the country — and carries articles which give a class analysis of the situation in Chad.

Nobody could have had their political baptism in more severe conditions. UND is a young party doing its utmost to disseminate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and pointing the way to a socialist future for their country.

In Chad today the primary requirement is for unity, peace and social reconstruction, creating conditions which offer the possibility of improving production in agriculture, mining and manufacture. The long suffering people of Chad need bread not guns.

GHANA AT THE CROSSROADS

On December 31, 1981, a coup d'etat overthrew the government of President Hilla Limann. Two years after handing over power to Limann, Flight Lieutenant Rawlings once more assumed power at the head of a Provisional National Defence Council.

In the two years in which the People's National Party (PNP) was in power the government had drifted along without any clear idea of how to run the country, let alone attempting to solve the burning questions facing the working people of Ghana. It is true that when Limann took office the economy was in a shambles and two years is not sufficient time in which to resolve those complex problems. But the Limann government seemed to be more interested in seeking handouts from the imperialist countries, monopoly capital and international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In these two years inflation soared to well above 100 per cent, prices of staple food were beyond the means of most working people — for example a loaf of bread cost the equivalent of a worker's daily wage — hospitals were drastically short of drugs and doctors, roads were in an appalling condition and schools without basic learning and teaching aids. Goods which were imported were not found in the shops but were available on the black market at exorbitant prices.

Ghana today has dropped from first to third place after Brazil and Ivory Coast in the production of cocoa. Nevertheless cocoa still remains the main earner of foreign currency. From a peak of 450,000 tons of cocoa per annum production is now only about 250,000 tons, and of this some 50,000 tons are smuggled out of the country. Owing to the pricing system many cocoa farmers turned to the production of other crops. It was only in November 1981 that Limann, responding to a great deal of pressure, agreed to raise the price paid to the cocoa producers from C120 (Cedis) per 30 kg bag to C300, but a more realistic price would be in the region of C600 per 30 kg bag. Some people have even argued for C800. Moreover the roads from the interior were so bad and the transport system in such a mess that hundreds of tons of cocoa were not even collected for export. The distribution system was also in tatters. For example meat worth C900,000 was destroyed because it had been allowed to decompose and over C1 million worth of maize was allowed to rot.

The extractive industries, in particular gold and bauxite, were not adequately exploited. Oil exploration and its subsequent production are totally dependent on imperialist monopolies such as Phillips Petroleum,

Texas Pacific, Agip and Arraca Petroleum, Total, Mobil, and Voyager and Hudbay (Canada). The further development of the very important mining and oil sectors was entirely dependent on obtaining massive financial and technical assistance from the imperialist monopolies. In addition, since cocoa exports were down while imports rose and there were no restrictions on the penetration of private foreign capital, the budget deficits grew out of all proportion.

Corruption was endemic. It permeated local Ghanaian business, the management of state owned corporations and top echelons of the PNP.

Party of Big Business

The PNP, which had claimed that it was going to follow in the footsteps of that great revolutionary Kwame Nkrumah, was composed of people ranging from the extreme right to those who declared themselves socialists. Even though its youth wing had a militant progressive section, the PNP was in essence a party of Ghanaian big business. In the latter part of 1981 the PNP was wrecked by a series of scandals. Writs from various factions were issued against other factions, alleging corruption, fraud and other malpractices and demonstraing that the PNP was in a shambles.

In its foreign policy the Limann government acted in the interests of imperialism and local reaction. Limann himself hinted that he was considering reestablishing diplomatic relations with Zionist Israel, broken off after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. He also joined the anti-Libyan imperialist campaign and declared that he would attend the next OAU summit in Tripoli on condition that Libya made peace with those countries that had expelled its diplomats. Limann conveniently ignored the fact that Egypt and Sudan, by being a party to the United States government's attempt to overthrow Gaddafi, were responsible for the breakdown of relations. Furthermore when Sadat was killed, Limann announced three days of mourning for that traitor. For services rendered, Limann and his wife Fullera Limann were awarded the United States Peace Corps badge. It was presented by Barbara P. Bush, wife of George Bush, the Vice-President. She said that she would inform Reagan and her husband about how wonderful Ghana was, what progress it had made and what marvellous potential and opportunities Ghana offered. She meant, of course, for US imperialism and monopoly capital.

The working people and students of Ghana did not remain silent. There was opposition from the membership of the Ghana TUC. In the latter part of last year 10,000 workers from cocoa stations in the Eastern and Brong-

Ahafo region went on strike in protest at the dismandling of the Production Division of the Cocoa Marketing Board; 2,000 workers of the State Farm Corporation went on strike to press their case for payments of salaries which were six months in arrears; workers in the African Timber and Plywood Company expressed their deep concern at the lack of interest shown by the government in maintaining the four nationalised timber companies; and workers of State Farms Corporation publicly declared that the basis of the corporation's non-profitability was management inefficiency and the misuse of funds and labour.

Progressive students who have played a militant role in Ghana's political life consistently expressed their opposition to the domestic and foreign policies of the Limann government. Towards the end of last year Kumasi University, the second largest in Ghana, was closed down after a week of sustained protests. And in Offuman in Western Ghana there were violent clashes between primary and middle school students and the authorities in which 8 people died.

The bourgois opposition parties were in disarray. They tried to form a merger but failed mainly because of personality clashes as to who should be leaders. Amongst the progressive forces, the Common People's Party was gradually building up its membership and influence, and the June 5 Movement (Rawlings' organisation) started a weekly *Workers' Banner* which was intended to be a vehicle to develop the consciousness of the workers. Thus at the time of Rawlings' coup the progressive forces were organising opposition to Limann's policies.

In September 1981 Limann declared on the second anniversary of his rule:

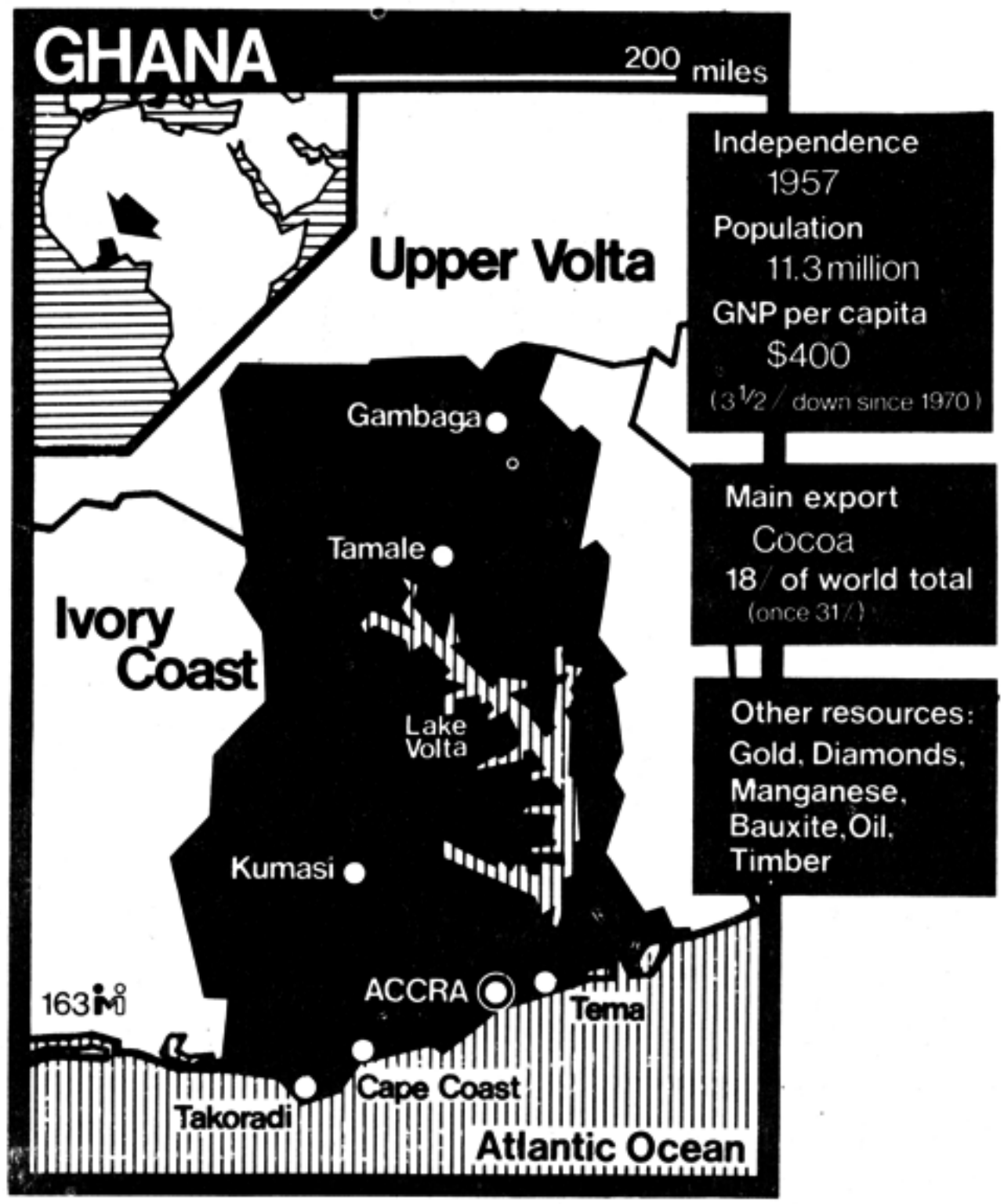
> "Henceforth, we must all be judged by results. Those unable to acquit themselves creditably should therefore give way to others able and prepared to tackle the difficult task and move ahead in the hard times confronting us." *(West Africa,* 5/10/81).

Well, the working people and students of Ghana delivered their verdict. They supported the coup d'etat. Factory workers, office employers and students participated in mass demonstrations in Accra, voicing their support for the Provisional National Defence Council and its declared intentions to carry out sweeping social and economic reforms.

No Short Cuts

To bring about a radical change in the domestic and foreign policies of Ghana is a complex and lengthy process. There are no short cuts and it can

never be achieved by rhetoric and declarations. Already the PNDC has established strict control over prices, taken measures to end speculation on basic foodstuffs, lowered public transport fares and created an emergency committee to deal with the problem of transporting cocoa from the interior to the coast. Workers' committees are being set up at government enterprises to monitor production and a start has been made to form civilian defence committees in urban and rural areas. This is an impressive beginning — but only a beginning. A genuinely progressive anti-imperialist Ghana requires consistent policies to meet the immediate and long-term interests and aspirations of the working people and involve them actively at all levels of decision-making. It also requires the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces in the country and the development of close economic and political relations and links with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community.



Developments will show whether or not members of the Common People's Party are given the opportunity to play an active role. At this time the unity of all anti-imperialist forces is paramount and every effort should be made to reintegrate all such genuine patriots and enable them to make their contribution in the coming battles. To be sure, the foreign and local enemies of independence and social progress will do their utmost to destabilise the present situation in Ghana.

LIBERIA: IN THE CLUTCHES OF NEO-COLONIALISM

In 1882 freed slaves from the United States of America established a presence in Liberia. By 1847 these settlers, at the behest of the US government, declared Liberia an independent country. But this independence was only for the settlers, since the indigenous people were not even regarded as citizens. Herein lies the root of the conflict between the settlers and the indigenous people. The settlers imposed slave labour on coffee and cocoa plantations and gave a free hand to multinationals such as Firestone for the super-exploitation of the labour force and the plunder of the natural resources. The resentment of the masses erupted in armed resistance in 1911 and 1913, but this was ruthlessly suppressed Since then Liberia, which is dependent on rubber, iron ore, coffee and cocoa, has been a plaything of the multi-nationals, especially Firestone.

Throughout its history the domestic and foreign policies of successive Liberian governments have been tailored to serve the neo-colonial interests of US imperialism. We have not forgotten that in the mid-seventies William Tolbert, then President, had discussions with fascist Vorster in an attempt to give some credence and legitimacy to the racist regime of South Africa.

On April 12, 1980, Staff Sergeant Samuel Doe led a coup d'etat which overthrew Tolbert. Many of Tolbert's ministers and officials were arrested and 13 senior members of that regime were executed. The working people of Liberia and the revolutionary forces internationally welcomed the coup as it had the potential of removing the country from the neo-colonialist clutches of imperialism and ending plunder and exploitation by the multi-

national corporations. Indeed in the beginning one or two progressive minded officers served on the ruling People's Redemption Council (PRC) and a few members of the progressive organisation Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) were given cabinet posts. One of its leaders, Dr Togba-Nah Tipoteh, was appointed Minister of Economic Planning.

However some months after the coup the Doe regime continued to expand its ties with US imperialism and its agencies such as the IMF. Not surprisingly the US ambassador in Liberia, William Swing, could publicly declare that his government was satisfied at the state of relations between the two countries and that the aim of the United States was to "avoid shortages and political instability." To this end the US increased the supply of PL 480 rice (food-aid) and gave Liberia a four-year $43.5 million military programme, to keep the officers happy. It is estimated that US firms have assets worth over $400 million and the Firestone rubber plantation which covers an area of 220 square miles is the largest of its type in the world. Furthermore the US government has on Liberian soil a powerful Voice of America transmitter, the Omega satellite communication centre and a special place which handles all US diplomatic communications from West Africa to Washington. Other apsects of the pro-imperialist foreign policy of the Doe regime include its breaking of relations with Libya and acceptance of the Camp David accords.

Barely a year after the April coup the Vice-Head of State and co-chairman of the PRC, General Thomas Weh Syen, and four other soldiers were accused of plotting another coup. They were summarily executed. Weh Syen was known to hold anti-imperialist views and fought for a genuinely independent non-aligned Liberia. These executions and other attacks upon the progressive forces, such as the ruthless suppression of the dock workers' strike at the end of 1980, demonstrate the PRC was not really interested in the welfare of the working people.

The inexorable embrace of imperialism led to the resignation of Dr Togba-Nah Tipoteh, one of the most popular Ministers and chairman of the Africa Group in the governing body of the World Bank. In his resignation letter he pointed out: "It was generally agreed that as the PRC came to power to redeem the Liberian masses from over a century of undue and untold suffering, the enemies of the Liberian revolution must be considered as those individuals, groups, institutions and governments who, by their actions, are against the rights of workers, the rights of students, the rights of farmers, the rights of soldiers, the rights of the unemployed, the rights of market people and the rights of civil servants."

(*West Africa* 7/9/81 p 2047). The Doe regime, instead of attacking the enemies of the revolution, started rehabilitating them, with the result that a number of leading officials from the former Tolbert regime once more occupied important positions in the state structure.

The economic problems of Liberia are immense and they certainly can never be resolved by relying on handouts from US imperialism and its agencies such as the multi-nationals and IMF. The desperate state of the economy is demonstrated by the fact that more than 5,000 rubber farms throughout the country have closed down and Liberia has received $70 million from the IMF just to keep afloat. Moreover the subsidies on rice — this includes the PL 480 rice — which is a staple food, and beer, have been removed, thereby adding to the hardships and suffering of the working people.

The opposition of the workers, farmers and students is growing. In the latter part of last year 600 workers at the Lamco Iron Mining Company — which is controlled by US and Swedish capital — went on strike to press their demands for 12 months back pay. The reaction of Doe was to dismiss all the workers who refused to return to work. Consequently 200 workers lost their jobs. Also teachers and more than 1,000 nurses and para-medical personnel went on strike for salaries which were in arrears and for better pay. The repressive nature of the response to the workers' action was emphasised when the Vice-Head of State, Major General J. Podier, gave an order that any workers "found inciting their colleagues" should immediately be dismissed.

Amongst the students — an important social strata — resistance is also growing. The Students' Unification Party which has a progressive outlook and links with MOJA won the elections in November 1981 for the leadership of the University of Liberia Students' Union. We can thus expect that the major students' organisations will work together with workers and farmers to offer resistance to the neo-colonial begging policy of Samuel Doe and the PRC.

FURTHER CONTRIBUTION ON THE ARMING OF THE MASSES

by Khumalo Migwe

The article "Has the Time come for the Arming of the Masses?" by Mzala (*African Communist*, No. 86 Third Quarter, 1981) raises one of the real fundamental strategic questions of our revolution. However, Mzala treats this question only from a strategic level and ignores (whether deliberately or not) the tactical aspects of arming the masses. "To recognise a definite form of struggle and not to recognise its technique," said Lenin, "is like recognising the necessity of taking part in particular elections while ignoring the law which lays down the technique of these elections"[1] In other words, Mzala's submission answers the question: What is to be done? but not the question: How is it to be done? or where to begin?

To "Arm the Masses" is to tread on a particularly delicate strategy of revolution. If implemented prematurely or untimely, the destructive effect on the vanguard movement can last for decades. It was with regard to this

danger that Engels constantly warned that "strategies are not free creations of the mind of generals of genius" — strategies are the logical and practical theoretical conclusions engendered by practical life, they are theoretical developments that evolve from concrete situations of struggle or combat and guarantee victory. Jack Woddis once advised:

> "Revolution is a serious matter. It cannot be solved by subjective wishes or the bold use of revolutionary slogans. And serious revolutionaries have to take a responsible attitude towards the people — workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, and others — who feel on their backs any mistakes made by those who would claim to lead them."[2]

On the other hand, this strategic ground is delicate also because not to arm the masses when the need arises could lead to a dangerous gap opening between the people and their leaders. Indeed, if political leadership is said to be an art, it is this required ability of the leaders, with their finger-tips ever on the popular pulse, to detect the favourable opportunity and timeliness for a great revolutionary advance. le Duan reminds us that "as evidenced by the experience of all revolutions, one very important question, besides the preparation of political and military forces is to seize the opportune moment."[3] Failure to seize the opportune moment has led many a liberation movement to a rearguard position. The role of tailism does not fit a revolutionary vanguard.

A Disarmed People

In 1968, Oliver Tambo, the President of the African National Congress, in a statement entitled 'Freedom or Death', made the following remarks:

> "The founders of our nation . . . taught us that the African people were conquered because the Europeans had the guns and were organised. In addition, our forefathers fought separately and divided. In this way the Whites were able to defeat our peoples one by one."

Twelve years later, in 1980, Nelson Mandela, in a message smuggled out of Robben Island and finally released for publication by the ANC, hammered on the same historic fact:

> "The gun has played an important part in our history. The resistance of the black man to white colonial intrusion was crushed by the gun. Our struggle to liberate ourselves from white domination is held in check by force of arms. From conquest to the present the story is the same."

To those involved in the liberation struggle in South Africa, it is no longer an issue of controversy or even debate whether or not the oppressed could hope to achieve their freedom except by organising their own army of liberation; in fact, to raise the issue is to be blind to reality, for we are

already engaged in armed struggle. Our present attempts to organise ourselves under the leadership of the African National Congress and to wield modern weapons against our racist tormentors, implies the awareness that unless we do so we shall deserve to be oppressed and exploited. The call to arm the masses is, historically speaking, in the tradition of our earlier armed resistance but now occurring in a qualitatively new situation.

An analysis of the political situation given by the National Executive of the ANC in 1973 stated:

> "In a struggle such as ours which pursues the strategic objective of seizure of power and not reforms or a negotiated transfer of power, the conscious and purposive participation of the masses in the struggle, on their own behalf and relying on their own strength, is of decisive importance."

This strategic objective is dictated by the military intransigence of the racist-capitalist ruling class. The ridiculous hope of a negotiated settlement in South Africa, shared by utopians and opportunists alike, will crumble before the reality of racist militarism and fascist uncompromise. In this regard as well, to call for the arming of the masses is most appropriate in view of our final objective: the unconditonal surrender of the Pretoria Boers to the armed people. The "Arming of the Masses" dialectically means the disarming of the racists, and this is absolutely necessary.

The 1980 Revolutionary Conflagration

Anyone studying the course of events since 1976 — the outbreaks of violent resistance by workers and students as witnessed from Cape Town to Kimberley, from Soweto to Bloemfontein, from Uitenhage to KwaMashu — will confirm the timeliness of the call to turn from aimless, sporadic acts of violence to purposeful and organised mass violence linked with the broad movement for liberation. Undoubtedly, the "Arming of the Masses" is an entirely correct strategy in meeting a situation in which all doors to peaceful ways of effecting change have been slammed shut, and where the masses are themselves breaking an old pattern of peaceful struggle and adopting new violent forms of struggle.

Just as the December events of 1905 in Russia had demonstrated that the general strike alone was out of date, that the mass movement was breaking out of these narrow confines and giving rise to the highest forms of struggle, so have the post-Soweto events in general and the 1980 revolt in particular, shown that it is now impossible to confine things to a peaceful

strike alone. A fearless and relentless armed fight is necessary. This logically calls for the arming of the masses, the immediate creation of fighting squads or "combat units" composed of a few people ready to go on the offensive against the enemy, armed with modern weapons — where there was a stone must now be a hand-grenade, where there was a stick or an iron bar there must now be an automatic rifle.

During times of revolutionary upsurge, the ideal movement for the masses is the one that answers their most urgent aspirations; and the future will belong not necessarily to the organisation that has the most progressive programme but to the mass movement that is most capable of drawing the masses into concrete revolutionary struggle.

As early as January 1905 Lenin wrote from Geneva:

> "The general strike is rousing and rallying increasing masses of the working class and the urban poor. The arming of the people is becoming an immediate task of the revolutionary movement.
>
> "Only an armed people can be the real bulwark for popular liberty."

In the preceding period Lenin had fought against the use of terror tactics by small groups of conspiratorial intellectuals who disregarded mass organisation. Now, however, in 1905-1906, Lenin wholeheartedly supported the use of guerrilla warfare in the cities by small groups of workers, which took place as part of the mass struggle, and the Bolsheviks themselves organised "fighting squads" everywhere. These units of three or four (and at times even more) had the task to create strong points for the open mass struggle; to spread the uprising to neighbouring districts and to establish complete political freedom, if only at first in a small part of the country.

Certainly, in South Africa, where cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe can go inside the country and carry out combat operations like the assaults on Sasol or the Voortrekkerhoogte military base, it is quite possible to create temporary training bases in some houses or mountains (even if for the duration of a weekend) and train small groups of carefully selected people from the factory floor, village, migrant workers' hostel, university or high school. In this way the primary task of the many MK cadres would be to multiply themselves among the people inside the country rather than all of them doing the actual fighting at this stage.

This means that such combat units (at the initial stage) are part-time workers or students, as the case may be, and part-time guerrillas as well. Our guerrilla war shall have assimilated the strategy of "Arming the Masses" the day ordinary workers, peasants, students, etc, have been

given training in the Mzimkhulu, Nkandla or Knysna forests; or were instructed in some house in Soweto, Gugulethu, New Brighton or KwaMashu. Political work must be done sufficiently among the people so that they understand that "the unknown man in your midst is a freedom fighter".

The problem of police informers and administrative stooges (all of whom in fact constitute the major myth of the invincibility of the racist regime) will remain as long as the initiative of the liberation process has not been transferred from the leaders in exile to the local leadership inside the country as it arises in the crucible of the revolution. In spite of the enemy slander campaigns against revolutionary people, the masses know who are the real informers and stooges in their midst, and the people of South Africa have learned through bitter and sanguinary experience that to be indifferent to enemy agents is to create a fertile ground for their germination. Once a combat unit has been formed in a township, location or village, one of its major tasks is to mount an all-out elimination campaign against informers and police. No serious farmer continues to grow plants in a field full of rats. He first destroys them and causes others to run away before they can molest his plants. During the Sekhukhuniland revolt, police and administrative agents knows as "Rangers" were the first target of the people, their houses were raided and burnt thus giving warning even to those who were still nursing hopes of serving the enemy. This elimination of informers and police is a very important tactical aspect in the implementation of the strategy of "Arming the Masses" since it generates a really free atmosphere in our residential areas to conduct political education, organisation and finally arming of the masses. Without the reign of racist stooges in our townships and villages, our areas shall indeed be semi-liberated zones.

The Question of Political Preparation

The danger of conducting any form of guerrilla activity in a territory which has not been prepared politically, has been well understood by the South African liberation movement. We cannot undermine the importance of the painstaking, slow and often imperceptible work of political education which the African National Congress and its allies have always conducted and will always conduct. It is actually through political mobilisation that we are even able to select the people who should form the combat units. When it is said that the guerrilla is a fish and the people are the water, we usually have in mind clean and fresh water. Political

mobilisation and education of the masses is this process of cleaning water, not because at any stage the people are on the side of the enemy, but experience of guerrilla warfare (particularly in those situations where it has failed to win victory) teaches that mass support should not be assumed but should be ascertained concretely.

In a statement in August 1965 the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party said:

> "Indeed, it should rather be said that without constant efforts to arouse the resistance and patriotic spirit of the people, activities of a purely military character will become isolated from the people and bound therefore to fail. The real advantage of the liberation forces over the planes, armoured cars and other superior equipment of the enemy, is the support of the masses. This is our decisive weapon."[6]

Now this means that there is in fact a more urgent need to have among the people political organisers, agitators of the people, etc. — people who, so to say, put the manure and the fertilisers in the field. Before we can have these political organisers, we cannot talk of arming the masses in certain areas — I deliberately say "in certain areas" because, concretely speaking, there are now numerous areas in South Africa which need no longer wait before the creation of combat units, and Soweto is an example. Nevertheless, even in areas like Soweto, where already thousands of children have been killed, maimed or driven into exile, there is a need to ascertain and not merely to assume mass support; even here there is a need for political work, without which guerrillas cannot survive.

Stressing this need for political work among the masses, Eduardo Mondlane, talking of the experience of the struggle in Mozambique, said:

> "We had to establish a clandestine political force within Mozambique to prepare the people for the difficult task of liberating the country . . . Certainly one of the most important departments is the one responsible for clandestine political work within Mozambique . . . They prepare for action everywhere — ahead of the army, with the army and after the army. They are responsible for formulating political lines and transmitting them to local leaders. They establish cells everywhere in Mozambique and make sure that each cell knows what it must do and how its function fits into the party's strategy for the liberation of the whole country."[7]

The other vital aspect necessitating constant political work among the masses is to involve the masses in the most varied forms of struggle in order to attack all possible features of the ruling class state power. The revolution cannot be conducted by combat units alone. At times the very success of the combat units is made possible by a multitudinous number of

struggles like strikes, etc. Talking of the liberation struggle in Cuba, Blas Roca rightly comments:

> "Even through the armed struggle was a decisive means for achieving the overthrow of the tyranny and the triumph of the revolution, we should not underestimate the role played by the other forms of struggle, which co-operated in achieving these ends. The constant struggles, large and small, which were carried on in the cities and fields, outside of the field of military operations, and agitation which went along with them, kept the repressive forces of the government in check, prevented them from concentrating against the guerrillas, politically influenced many members of the army and the police, disorganising these forces and tending to paralyse them. The actions and mobilisations of every type, in city and country, co-operated effectively in helping the Rebel Army to defeat the offensives of the army of tyranny and finally to win the battle for revolutionary power."[8]

In South Africa, let us not forget, conditions have to a great extent politically educated the big section of the oppressed. The generation of those who sent delegates to the Congress of the People that drafted the Freedom Charter in 1955 is still very much alive; this, in fact, is the generation that has given birth to the Soweto heroes like Solomon Mahlangu. Talking of political education of the masses in South Africa can no longer mean attempting to make the people aware that they are oppressed or even that they need to fight — they are very much aware that they are oppressed; the 1980 political events are also only a small part of the testimony that they know they have to fight. The main question of political education and mobilisation at this time is the question of organisation and direction. This was the message written across the more than 20,000 angry faces who went to bury the comrades that fell at the Silverton Volskas Bank. Let us recall how Lenin criticised the schoolish approach to the question of the political education of the masses:

> "When the bourgeois gentry and their uncritical echoers, the social-reformists, talk priggishly about the 'education' of the masses, they usually mean something schoolmasterly, pedantic, something that demoralises the masses and instils in them bourgeois prejudices.
>
> "The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, and especially revolutionary struggle. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizons, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will."[9]

Enemy Reprisals — what then?

One problem of no less strategic importance is the inevitable racist counter-revolutionary measures. Logically, every action produces an equal and opposite reaction, and this is true not only for physics but also for the

revolutionary science. In the history of revolutionary war, South Africa would be an exception if its ruling class did not unleash terror against the revolutionary movement and the people who support it. We must have no illusions about this question — if the racists react in the Soweto style to unarmed schoolchildren, if they can go to the scale of conventional warfare against the people of Angola because of the intensity of the armed struggle waged by SWAPO, we can only conclude that the people of South Africa may as well expect one of the worst repression measures that the world has ever experienced; there may be massacred villages, napalm-bombed townships, etc. There is nothing new about this in the history of liberation, there is no struggle without casualties.

Already the Pretoria fascists are murdering unarmed men, women and children even before we reply to them by our organised mass violence. To avoid arming the masses, therefore, for fear of the enemy's military reprisals, would only be a ridiculous way of ignoring our present annihilation by the fascist troops and police. When facing the problem of how to implement survival tactics, let us rather have arms in hand than be without arms, wondering how we can survive while the racists demonstrate their military prowess over our massacred children.

It may also be added in this connection that the enemy may not limit his counter-revolution to military action alone. His military chiefs have already indicated that four-fifths of the war effort must be devoted to win the hearts and minds of the people; he may therefore also include the carrot tactic of political reforms. It is noteworthy that the chief weakness of the guerrilla struggle led by the Malayan People's Liberation Army was both its inability to meet the imperialist carrot tactic of political and economic reform as well as their adoption of a defensive posture. In South Africa too, noting that it is finally not the Pretoria Boers but monopoly capitalism that is really ruling the country, we may be faced with the necessity to adapt our tactics to cope with political reforms rather than brute military repression.

However, even if it is the military tactics rather than the political ones that the racists will adopt as their principal counter-revolution, if the form of people's warfare is guerrilla warfare, the people's war is bound to win in the end. "There is only one means of defeating an insurgent people who will not surrender," writes Robert Taber, "and that is extermination. There is only one method to control a territory that harbours resistance, and that is to turn it into a desert. Where these means cannot, for whatever reason, be used, the war is lost . . . That military victory against true

guerrillas is possible seems doubtful on the basis of modern experience, barring the use of methods approaching genocide, as applied notably by the Germans in certain occupied countries during the Second World War."

The South African people, moreover, have at their advantage the overwhelming numerical superiority over the enemy. Because of his numerical weakness, the enemy cannot go beyond certain limits in mobilising the army of repression, whereas on the other hand the masses of the people can mobilise a guerrilla army thrice the size of the enemy's limits and still have numerous men and women engaged in other non-combat forms of struggle.

The people's combat activities must have the aim to take from the enemy, little by little, the enemy's ruling power; in this way it becomes possible to talk of certain areas as liberated areas, that is, at first from the political point of view. A situation is created where the enemy's administrative organs are completely destroyed, his administrative stooges sent scurrying away like scared reptiles, leaving the township, location or village a people's territory. When the enemy's administration and other repression offices have been destroyed, and troops who come to patrol are constantly gunned down by armed units at night; when the people stop paying rent and other taxes in the township (partly because the rent offices are no longer there), we can then get the people to elect, democratically, leaders who represent their aspirations — nearly in the same way that in countries like Italy and France you have whole districts controlled by the progressive forces. This is also possible in South Africa but under conditions brought about by political mobilisation accompanied by an irrevocably determined guerrilla struggle waged by armed groups.

Thus to theorise about the impossibility of having liberated zones in South Africa is only a cheap way to ignore the tasks that are facing us. Certainly, the liberated zones may not take the classical form of defended territories in the developed stage of guerrilla warfare, but it may be quite possible to talk of politically liberated Soweto, New Brighton, KwaMashu, Mondlo, Gugulethu, etc. from the point of view that it is no longer the enemy that has power in these areas but the people. This will be a very important stage in the process of the mobilisation of the masses.

Strike Action — How much Power?

Can strike action alone bring down the racist state in South Africa? Can any solution that excludes the use of arms succeed in liberating us?

A number of political analysts have written a lot about the havoc that can plague South Africa if the black working class withdraws its labour which is the backbone of the South African economy. However, possibilities of change must be viewed in relation to South Africa as it really is, and not, as so often happens, in relation to a theoretical model extracted from manuals.

Strikes will undoubtedly continue to teach the South African workers the importance of united action, engender a greater spirit of militancy as well as win significant economic and political gains. But a workers' strike that could produce radical political change of the nature envisaged in the Freedom Charter, that is, that could lead to the overthrow of the racist state, needs to be a general strike that would involve a great measure of organisation by the liberation movement. The extreme difficulty (in practical terms) for the banned organisations to build up mass support on an underground basis which an overthrow of the state by strike action alone would require cannot be overlooked. As long as the racist ruling class continues to command the absolute allegiance of the army of suppression, any talk of a nation-wide stay-at-home or strike alone leading to the overthrow of the Pretoria Boers would only be cheap talk — theoretically logical but practically invalid. Strike action now and in future, like all other forms of political struggle, will only enhance the South African revolution when supported by the determined revolutionary armed struggle of the whole people.

Lastly, it would be appropriate to quote from the ANC National Executive statement entitled: "The People Accept the Challenge of the Nationalists" dated April 6, 1963:

> "The government will certainly be more ruthless than it has been. It already considers itself at war and is fighting a desperate battle. Every European citizen has been called to defend white supremacy. Whites have been called upon to sacrifice not only time and money but life itself.
>
> "It would be criminal on our part not to prepare the Africans throughout the country on a similar scale. No one can afford to be neutral in this situation . . . The times have changed, we must make only one call, WE DEMAND FREEDOM OR DEATH, there can be no middle course."

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THE AFTERMATH OF IMPERIALISM IN EAST AFRICA

Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda, by D. Wadda Nabudere (Onyx Press. Price £5.50)

This is an interesting work by a prominent Ugandan dealing with this country's social and political history covering pre-colonial days through the years up to and after the 8 year regime of Idi Amin.

The writer traces the role of British imperialism and how it drained the people and country of their labour and wealth; how the breakdown of the traditional social and political structures resulted in feuds and conflicts among the people. For those who have lived under foreign domination and for the oppressed people in South Africa the pattern is all too familiar — divide and rule.

The greater the divisions in a country, the more long-lasting are its effects — even after 'independence'. An example of this is the damage to the Indian sub-continent, now fragmented into India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Kashmir, 30 years after independence.

The account of the rise of the Ugandan working class and their organisation; the role of the church and of the Kabaka and the national awakening of the people provide the backdrop to the country's independence, the election of Dr Obote as its first president and his overthrow by Idi Amin.

The writer is a strong critic of Obote — also of Nyerere and the Tanzanian government — and was imprisoned in the early sixties and later released by Amin who appointed him chairman of the East African Railways. He later resigned his post because of the brutalities of the Amin regime and went into exile in Tanzania. He played a prominent part in convening the Moshi Unity Conference of some 20 organisations which set the course for the victory over Amin.

Professor Nabudere served as a minister in the new government but during the course of the three power fights of Lule, Binaisa and finally Obote, he quit his post and this time went into exile in Kenya.

Nabudere is ultra critical of Obote — it is alleged that he was instrumental in excluding Obote from the Moshi Unity Conference — and no doubt there were major defects in Obote's administration which provided the opening for Amin's power grab — albeit with the connivance of British imperialism. South African democrats will remember that his steadfast policy against Britain's supply of arms to South Africa was one reason for his ousting from office while at the Commonwealth Prime Minister's conference in Singapore.

Nabudere set out to produce a socio-political book on Uganda and this is dealt with in the first section. The second section deals with the period from independence and after. He also gives his perspective for the revolution still to come in Uganda.

Abu Hassan

NATURE AND AIMS OF SOVIET AID TO AFRICA

USSR and the Countries of Africa - General Editor, E. A. Tarabrin (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, 320pp).

In a brief preface Professor Anatoly Gromyko, Director of the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences, describes this book as the first comprehensive study containing an analysis of the development, trends and prospects of Soviet-African relations and their interconnections. Comprehensive the book certainly is: some thirty authors, all specialists in their fields, deal in depth with the aims and content of Soviet relations with African states in specific spheres and in particular countries. Their knowledge and understanding of the problems facing Africa in its struggle to shake off the shackles of neo-colonialism are most impressive.

As Gromyko points out, the book shows that ever since its establishment the Soviet Union has approached the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples and independent countries from strictly class positions, and that in the course of developing relations with the majority of independent African countries "the Soviet Union has accumulated considerable experience in establishing international cooperation which is basically new as regards its content and forms, and, above all, in terms of its objectives."

Those objectives, as Tarabrin spells out in his introduction, differ radically from, and are in sharp conflict with, the aims of the imperialists. In contrast to the strategy of domination, diktat and exploitation pursued by imperialism, the aims and content of Soviet cooperation are — *in the political sphere* — to consolidate the independence of the developing states, politically and diplomatically to uphold their interests in international organisations, ensure their right to chose their own path of social development, and abolish inequality in international relations; *in the economic sphere* — to assist in building up the national economy, getting rid of imperialist exploitation, neo-colonialist diktat and dependence, asserting sovereignty over natural wealth and securing equality in the international division of labour; *in the ideological sphere* — to support the struggle against the ideological expansion of neo-colonialism, help to assimilate the ideas of scientific socialism, and to expose bourgeois and social-reformist theories of social-economic

developments which are modified conceptions of national and racial oppression; *in the scientific and cultural sphere* — to help promote national science and culture, train personnel, and establish national art and literature through cultural exchange; *in the military sphere* — to strengthen the defensive capability of the independent states, create conditions for repulsing imperialist and neo-colonialist aggression, and to protect them against military pressure or direct aggressive and expansionist acts of imperialism.

The individual authors deal in detail with the concrete steps the Soviet Union has taken towards fulfilling those objectives, and they do so both in general terms and in relation to particular zones and countries. They evaluate the results of the various forms of aid and cooperation and discuss the objective difficulties the Soviet Union and other socialist countries encounter in their efforts to broaden and deepen their relations with Africa.

Socialist Orientation

In his introduction, Tarabrin stresses that one element in the content of Soviet policy in Africa is to give priority assistance to states that have taken the progressive path of development and, first and foremost, to the socialist-oriented countries. This, he says, "reflects the revolutionary character of the Soviet social system to which ideological and political indifference is totally alien."

Another author, N. I. Gavrilov, develops this theme in a section dealing with specific features of the Soviet Union's relations with the socialist-oriented countries of tropical Africa.

"Revolutionary democratic forces in African countries that have taken the road of social progress," he writes, "know that capitalism cannot offer a constructive programme for surmounting the economic, social and cultural lag of the newly free states. They have learned from their own experience that the solution of problems connected with the abolition of backwardness, such as the control over natural resources, the development of national industry, and reorganisation of agriculture, inevitably leads to a confrontation with imperialism.

"The very logic of truly independent development and the desire to attain economic independence without delay prompt progressive African leaders to make the socialist choice."

Gavrilov points out that while in other African countries the political and ideological positions of the revolutionary democrats are not fully

consistent with scientific socialism, they are quite close to it on some questions. He adds that "this however, does not rule out regression, manoeuvring and departure of revolutionary democrats from scientific socialism at a particular period in one or another African country". He stresses that:

> "the introduction of socio-economic revolutionary transformations in those countries of Tropical Africa which are following the non-capitalist road show that the development of socialist-orientated states in that part of the continent should not be assessed in isolation from the competition between the two world systems — it should be viewed as an organic part of the world confrontation and opposition of two modes of production. This confrontation is in evidence in political, economic, cultural, ideological and other spheres.
>
> "On the one hand, there are the forces of socialism and social progress which oppose all forms of oppression and work for peace and international detente, and, on the other, there are the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism which strive to plunder and exploit Africa."

Gavrilov puts his finger on a problem which is particularly acute for Africa when he draws attention to the fact that "the socialist-oriented countries in Tropical Africa are building a new society while remaining outside the world system of socialism and continuing to be dependent on the capitalist market." This fact, he says, creates additional difficulties which cannot be surmounted without Soviet support. This support has two main directions.

"First, the example of the Soviet Union proves the effectiveness of socialist-oriented development. The vast experience and enormous gains of the Soviet people in all spheres of activity attest to the advantages of this orientation.

"Second, the Soviet Union provides not only moral and political, but also economic, scientific and technical assistance . . ."

Uneven Process

Summing up in his conclusion, Tarabrin states:

> "It is obvious that the national revival of African countries is an uneven process. In some of them it is impeded by internal reaction, and in all of them by neo-colonialism. Many African states are undergoing the complicated process of differentiation of class forces and the class struggle is intensifying. This is a natural pattern of development of the newly free countries and is reflected in their foreign policy which is always organically linked with internal social relations.
>
> "As class differentiation continues, forces opposing closer cooperation with the socialist world begin to emerge in individual African countries. Not the least role here is played by nationalism and negative external influences. But in the

final analysis international relations are a totality of economic, political, ideological, social, diplomatic, military and other links between the peoples in the broadest sense of the world. Hence the basic criterion for the Soviet Union's relations with independent African countries today and for the future, too, is their conformity with the interests of the peoples of both sides concerned."

And further:

"At the present stage Soviet-African relations fully conform to the changes that are taking place in the developing world, chiefly to the fact that the struggle for raising the economic, social and cultural level of the people, for real national renovation and social emancipation is beoming the main trend of the revolutionary process in African and other liberated countries. It is a multiform struggle with numerous external and internal aspects including the creation of conditions for solving social problems, and also the introduction of such changes in all spheres of society's life which would help to wipe out exploitation of man by man, the chief factor of social inequality and oppression. The struggle for social emancipation, for the choice of a path of socio-economic and political development is, in the final analysis, a class struggle. That is why cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states is a matter of special importance for the countries which are waging this struggle."

In a chapter on Southern Africa, Y. I. Gouk outlines the many facets of the steadfast support the Soviet Union has given and continues to give to the liberation movements and to the newly independent states in that region. He claims, with full justification, that the Soviet Union is the main ally of the forces fighting for the liquidation of the brutal South African racialist regime. South African readers will find the numerous references to South Africa in this and other sections of the book of particular interest.

While dealing with Soviet-Africa relations, the authors probe into many vital aspects of trends and events. Using Marxism-Leninism in their analysis of historical and current data, they provide the reader with penetrating and thought-provoking insights into the problems of our continent. The book is a "must" for anyone seeking a deeper understanding of the processes at work in Africa and the role which the Soviet Union plays in assisting Africa to free itself from imperialism.

PLAYING BALL WITH BOTHA

Decoding Corporate Camouflage: US Business Support for Apartheid by Elizabeth Schmidt (Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, $4.95).

This is a brief but comprehensive study of the operation of the "Sullivan Principles". In 1977, the Rev. Leon H. Sullivan, a black American minister of religion who had formerly been a civil rights activist, put forward a six-point "code of conduct" for American firms carrying on business in South Africa. The six points were, in summary, non-segregation at the workplace, fair employment practices, equal pay for equal work, training for black workers, promotion of blacks to managerial positions and welfare programmes for all employees. A large number of firms seized upon this code as a way of deflecting the growing demand for their withdrawal from South Africa. Within two years, 135 firms had declared their adherence to the code. A "research and consulting" firm called the Arthur D. Little Company was appointed to draft and issue questionnaires to the adherents, for the purpose of monitoring their progress in implementing the code. From time to time, Arthur D. Little has published reports claiming to show that substantial progress is being made.

Elizabeth Schmidt (whose research was aided by the World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism) has subjected these reports to close analysis. She shows that the alleged progress is negligible and that the "Sullivan Principles" have made no difference to the willingness of American firms to work docilely within the framework of the apartheid system.

She has also investigated the Arthur D. Little Company itself. It turns out to have been a major shareholder in the Space Research Corporation, two of whose senior executives were convicted in March 1980 for the illegal export to South Africa of 53,000 long-range artillery shells. Full details of this massive evasion of the UN arms embargo are given by Elizabeth Schmidt. She also lists no less than 33 firms, signatories of the "Sullivan Principles", which have between 1973 and 1979 been subjected to court orders for violations of the equal employment legislation in the United States.

The book further contains a useful summary of the strategic position occupied by US multinational monopolies in the South African motor, oil and computer industries and on the financial scene and gives some case histories of US involvement in the supply of equipment to the apartheid army and police. It adds up to a devastating refutation of the claims by American big business to be a "liberalising" force in South Africa.

P.M.



CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENTS

ON POLAND

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party declares its solidarity with the Polish United Workers' Party in its attempts to overcome the present crisis in Poland and preserve the way forward to socialism.

The declaration of a state of emergency in Poland was rendered inevitable by the counter-revolutionary activities of those forces within the country which, aided by foreign imperialism, were attempting to turn back the clock of history and dismantle the main bastions of socialist advance. Rejecting all offers of dialogue and compromise on the part of the Polish government, they resorted to all manner of strikes and provocations in a bid to discredit the authorities and pave the way for a seizure of power. As a consequence of these activities, they succeeded in disrupting the economy, hindering production of basic commodities, causing shortages of food and goods in the shops and undermining Poland's economic relations with the outside world. The catastrophic disruption of normal social life which ensued made all attempts by the government to reform past errors and make progress towards a better future impossible.

Above all, these counter-revolutionary forces sought the removal of Poland from the side of its allies in the Warsaw Pact, the main bastion of world peace, the main source of strength and inspiration for the world-wide struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. In the name of nationalism they denounced proletarian internationalism, one of the basic tenets of our communist creed.

It should by now be clear to all that the conflict in Poland cannot be isolated from the global struggle between the forces of decaying capitalism and those of advancing socialism. The international class struggle has

reached a new peak of intensity, with the United States and other capitalist countries threatening to drag the world ever closer to a nuclear holocaust in defence of wealth and privilege and at the expense of the welfare and future progress of the majority of humankind.

While Reagan and Thatcher mouth pious platitudes about "freedom" in Poland, they ignore the daily violations of freedom for which they and their allies are responsible in El Salvador, the Middle East, South Africa, Chile, Pakistan and other regions where their class interests are affected. They are prepared to commit and justify all manner of atrocities provided only their aim is to safeguard the future of the international capitalist system and the profit motive.

They do their utmost to undermine the stability of the socialist countries and the independence of other countries opposed to their imperialist policies.

At this time of crisis it is the duty of communists of all countries to stand by their allies and rally to the defence of the healthy forces of social advance in Poland and other countries where they are under attack. The South African Communist Party has no hesitation in supporting all measures necessary for the restoration of peace and order in Poland so that the task of renewal and progress towards socialism can be resumed without interference from hostile forces at home and abroad.

18th December, 1981.

ON CUBA

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party condemns in the strongest terms the threats against the Republic of Cuba emanating from the government of the United States. In the recent period US Secretary of State Haig, Vice-President Bush and various military spokesmen have accused Cuba of "spreading terrorism, revolution and communism" and specifically of having sent troops and supplies to Nicaragua with the intention of invading El Salvador and aiding the establishment of a "Marxist revolutionary government" in the eastern part of the country.

Although these allegations have been categorically branded as lies by Cuba's President Castro, the US administration continues to threaten an extension of the economic embargo against Cuba and also other unspecified action to end Cuban "expansionism". Cuba and the Soviet Union are accused of being responsible for the aggravation of tension in central America and Southern Africa, and Haig is on record as saying: "We are considering a wide range of political, economic and security actions, including confrontation of the source, Cuba."

Ever since the overthrow of the Batista regime in 1959, the US has imposed an embargo against Cuba in an attempt to cripple its economy, and the CIA has been responsible for continual attempts to assassinate President Castro himself, to foment counter-revolution inside Cuba, to mount military attacks on Cuba and, in a multitude of other ways, to turn back the clock of history and restore in power a regime like that of Batista which will be subservient to the US and promote the interests of international capitalism.

In the recent period the US has descended to the depths of waging biological warfare against Cuba, whilst some of Reagan's aides are openly declaring that the US has the right to invade Cuba in retaliation for conflicts elsewhere in the world. As is known, the US occupies a military base in Cuba against the declared wish of the Cuban people, relying on a treaty with the gangster Batista regime which has long been swept into the dustbins of history.

The South African Communist Party declares that the US aggression against revolutionary Cuba is part and parcel of its global strategy to tip the international balance of forces in its favour and prevent social change unfavourable to the interests of international capitalism. The US backs reactionary and fascist regimes everywhere on the pretext that they are bastions against communism. Even the mass murderer Pol Pot is sheltered and supported by the US in a bid to restore Kampuchea to the orbit of capitalism; a plot in which it has the support of the renegade Peking regime. In Southern Africa, the racist Botha regime is declared an "ally" by President Reagan when the whole world knows that South Africa, the illegal occupier of Namibia and the launcher of aggression and mass murder against Angola and other frontline states, is the main source of tension and instability in the whole sub-continent.

The South African Communist Party warns that US aggression against Cuba, direct or indirect, is not only a crime against the revolutionary Cuban people, but equally a threat to the independence and right to self-

determination of all free peoples in Latin America, Africa and Asia, as well as to the movements of national liberation against reactionary, imperialist and racist regimes everywhere.

The South African Communist Party declares, in the name of the oppressed majority of the South African people, that in our eyes Cuba has been a force for liberation and progress in Africa, the reliable friend and defender of free Angola and Ethiopia, the ally of our freedom fighters, the enemy of racism, imperialism and neocolonialism, a staunch upholder of the principles of proletarian internationalism. Oppressed peoples everywhere look on the Cuban government and people as their brothers, with whom the bond of comradeship has been sealed in bitter struggle against the common enemy. A blow against Cuba is a blow against ourselves.

The South African Communist Party pledges to do its utmost to rally the masses of our country, South Africa, and calls upon all the peoples of Africa to stand by Cuba in the crisis which is being forced on it by the US imperialists.

We say: "Hands off Cuba!
"Down with US imperialism!
"Forward to freedom, peace and socialism!"

19th November, 1981

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THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

Report delivered to the World Peace Council Bureau meeting in Copenhagen in January 1982 by CAPTAIN WIESLAW GORNICKI, Advisor to the Prime Minister of Poland and member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council

Let me begin with greetings to all of you, friends and comrades. Those are not just plain seasonal greetings. If it were not for the steps taken in Poland on December 13 last year, the Polish delegation would probably not be present here.

The fight for peace was never mentioned in the plans of what was known as the 'Solidarity' trade union.

There are plenty of its documents from which one may quote, but there is not a single speech or declaration expressing fear of war or anxiety because of the arms race.

The Polish Peace Committee in recent months has been subjected to threats and slander. That is why we are glad to be here with you again.

I am authorized also to convey to you the warmest greetings of the Military Council of National Salvation under the chairmanship of General Jaruzelski.

At this crucial moment in Polish history, we ask all of our friends in the peace movement not only for understanding, but also for moral and political assistance.

Armed forces are seldom associated with peace activities. Yet there are moments when the armed forces become the last resort of safeguarding peace before it is too late.

This is precisely the case in Poland. Let me elaborate on that subject.

The Vice-President of the WPC and President of the Polish Peace committee earlier this morning presented our view on the matters on the agenda of our meeting. Let me now use some of your time.

What did not happen

Public opinion asks what happened in Poland. To our minds, the relevant question is just the opposite: what did not happen in Poland. Unless we discuss this paramount issue, nothing can put matters into proper perspective.

A bloody, prolonged civil war did not take place in Poland, although we were on the verge of it.

A military dictatorship has not been established in Poland. Martial law is a temporary measure and will be lifted as soon as possible. Civil liberties will be restored.

Legal authorities were neither removed nor incapacitated. The Polish parliament, the government and the State Council, which is our collective presidency, are functioning according to the Constitution.

The armed forces are merely an effective tool to reinstate the rule of law. They are safeguarding law and order, but positively do not issue laws. The Military Council does not set itself above any legal or political structure.

Finally, European peace and stability were not put into jeopardy, though this had been a very real and very imminent prospect.

That is the starting point. Now let me be more specific.

What preceded the introduction of Martial Law

Nobody can blame the Polish authorities for lack of good will. They did their best to prevent confrontation.

Since last March, I have participated in all negotiations with Solidarity as a member of the government delegation and that is why I can speak with a considerable degree of competence on the subject.

For about 14 months the Polish Government was willing to reach a compromise. We did see — perhaps wrongly — a chance of widening the structure of political life by including an independent trade union into the pattern of our state. The sad truth is, however, that this simply did not work. Solidarity ceased to be a trade union almost as soon as it was born. It became an opposition political party.

The idea of an opposition party may not sound very repulsive to many of you. But let me make it quite clear: Solidarity was never intended by its extremist leaders to be an opposition party in the western meaning of the word. Gradually it became a conglomerate of just about everything right-of-centre, from conservative, openly pro-capitalist tendencies to the brink of fascism.

There is no need to reconstruct nor to reiterate the chronology of the events that led to the declaration of martial law in Poland. But let me remind you, Friends, of at least some crucial points.

On October 30, General Jaruzelski offered from the rostrum of the Polish Parliament an entirely new formula, the Front of National Conciliation. It was meant as a way of sharing executive power with non-party groups and organisations. All meaningful groups in Polish society, including the Roman Catholic Church, expressed their desire to participate in the Front. There was one single exception: Solidarity.

During the month of November, the Government undertook several initiatives aimed at national conciliation. General Jaruzelski met with the Primate of Poland, Archbishop Glemp, and with the chairman of Solidarity, Mr. Walesa. A proposal was made to establish a mixed commission of all three trade union centres and the government as a main consulting and advisory body on matters related to essential labour problems in Poland.

This proposal was repudiated by Solidarity in the strongest terms. I remember Mr. Walesa saying that Solidarity speaks on behalf of all the Polish nation and everything else is just 'trash'.

On November 12, in the Polish town of Trzebiatow, the vice-president of Solidarity, Mr. Marian Jurczyk, delivered his famous speech, which was recorded live and played back by the Polish radio. Mr. Jurczyk said, among other things: 'What we need are gallows . . . Those people who run Poland are not Polish, they are either Russians or Jews with changed

names . . . No talk with a government of traitors.'

Is that a trade union activity? Where in the world does a trade union call for the death and extermination of fellow workers?

On December 4, the Presidium of Solidarity met in Radom. This meeting saw an open declaration of warfare against the Polish state, against the very idea of socialism, against Poland's alliances. Chairman Walesa said: 'There is going to be a confrontation and soon . . . We want power . . . This is the last moment that we can reach for power.'

Another member of the Presidium, Mr Kosmowski, said: 'This is a government of thieves and bandits . . . whoever is willing to negotiate with them on any single matter is a bandit and a thief himself.

'There is no time left for us . . . We must reach for power!'

There is ample evidence that between December 4 and December 11 preparations were being made for a regular counter-revolutionary coup d'etat patterned after the classical CIA style. Not all the documents have been revealed so far, but I may assure all whom it may concern that they may expect, well. impressive revelations.

At this juncture I cannot refrain from saying a few bitter words about the attitudes taken recently by the Italian Communist Party. This is the first case in my memory of Communists basing their political statements on the lies and slanders supplied by American intelligence. For the first time Radio Free Europe and a Communist party are speaking with one voice.

What do you have in common, cari amici, with Mr Jurczyk who publicly demanded the gallows for dirty Commies like myself? I realize that you are playing your own Italian power game. But why should the Polish nation pay for it? Where was your voice condemning the extremist elements within Solidarity?

May I remind you — and I am saying this with sadness and bitterness — that Benito Mussolini also began as a sort of Socialist. And it is not up to me to teach you the lessons of how a workers' movement may degenerate into what you were so valiantly fighting against for many decades.

On the night of December 12, after the Central Commission of Solidarity openly proclaimed a declaration of war against the state, no other option was left for Poland, except extraordinary measures in order to restore law and order in a country that was brought almost to a standstill.

Tragic Truth

The western mass media stubbornly and persistently refused to carry the true picture of Poland in the first week of December. And the truth was

tragic. The gross national product has dropped by 15 per cent in 1981 — this is a record for the twentieth century, for even the Great Crisis of 1929 brought about a drop of only 9 per cent.

In early December there was one day when we had 416 strikes in Poland, some of them reaching the outer fringes of absurdity. The crime rate exceeded both Italian and American indexes. No one was safe in the streets any more.

All authority was worn out — there were tens of thousands of cases a day when an order of a foreman in a factory would not be carried out and he would be told to 'go to hell'. Approximately 200 public buildings were occupied. In the press, socialist countries were slandered to the extent that not even the western media would match.

In Lublin we had a teachers' strike in which 11-year-old children were forced to participate. An angry driver, who was at odds with the director of a state agricultural farm, was able to paralyze a whole region with about 300 industrial and agricultural enterprises for 3 weeks.

Starting in early October there was a strike, almost nationwide, of Polish students — and nobody, including the strikers, is able to give a reason for it.

This was the kind of democracy that Solidarity leaders proposed. This was the kind of freedom they advocated.

This was a national suicide, with grave international ramifications, that became an avowed aim of the irresponsible, hatred-blinded extremist leaders of Solidarity, who were well paid from the West. They had betrayed the confidence and trust that a considerable part of the Polish working class had vested in the new independent trade union.

In a situation like that, the Polish peace movement was almost incapacitated. We simply could not participate in the summer peace marches. A certain Mr Slowik said: 'We have got rid of that peace trash'.

Psychological Warfare

Certainly, this is not the place to refute all the lies spread about Poland. But I really do want the true friends of Poland to have at least a very general idea of the extent of the manipulations performed by western mass media on the hearts and minds of world public opinion. I will therefore confine myself to nine most evident distortions.

On behalf of the Military Council I have met several times with foreign correspondents accredited in Warsaw. Both government spokesmen and myself have denied the most persistent rumours and plain idiocies

presented to western public opinion as 'news from Poland.'

Nothing helped. Not a single denial was published in major news media. Not even an appeal to common sense brough about any result.

A full-scale psychological war of unprecedented magnitude is under way against my country.

1. The total number of persons detained was approximately 5,050 at the beginning, now it does not exceed 4,400. An exact number cannot be given because some people are constantly released. The talk of 'several tens of thousands of detainees' is plain nonsense. One cannot hide it from public knowledge.

2. The total number of casualties is eight persons, I repeat, eight. We all regret it. However, I must tell you, looking you straight in the eyes, that the bloodshed in the Polish mine could have been spared. Firearms were used only in order to save the lives of militia men who had been taken hostage. Poland is not a big enough country that graves can be hidden. I would not make this statement if I thought I would be forced to retract it in a week's time.

3. Not one single detained person has been subjected to cruel treatment, torture, beating or exposure to the freezing outdoor air. All those detained will eventually be released and they will give testimony as to how they were treated. The falsehoods spread by American special services will prove short-lived.

4. While the martial law was obviously not greeted with enthusiasm by everyone in Poland, it is not true that the Polish nation as a whole resented it. To the contrary, the Polish 'silent majority' met it with a sigh of relief, irrespective of actual political leanings.

Poland found itself on the verge of a bloody, prolonged civil war. Whatever measures were taken to prevent it, they were considered by the silent majority as a lesser evil.

5. The introduction of martial law was a strictly Polish, sovereign, domestic issue. There is not a single proof or evidence of any foreign involvement. I would like to challenge President Reagan to show us a single instance of external participation.

As for the 'hundreds of thousands of Soviet, East German and Czechoslovak troops dressed in Polish uniforms', that reminds me of an 'absolutely verified report' issued by the John Birch Society in the early sixties that '80 thousand Communist and Chinese troops are trained in Louisiana and Georgia.' I think that the John Birch Society was much better informed at that time than President Reagan is now!

6. The emergency measures undertaken on December 13 are not aimed at the restoration of the situation that brought Poland to the crisis of 1980. The Military Council, the Party and the Government are positive and consistent in their intention to improve the socialist pattern of political and economic life. They do not intend to return to the unhappy period of blunders.

The only losers from what has happened in Poland are not the Polish workers, but those imperialist circles which were dreaming of an easy dismantling of the socialist structure of the Polish state.

7. It is not true that preparations for martial law had been made many months in advance. Necessary precautions were taken early last year in order to counter the general strike in the field of the economy, but there were no plans for a direct military action until virtually the last moment.

8. It is not true that the Polish clergy was subjected to either persecutions or reprisals. The Primate of Poland was informed about the introduction of martial law almost at the moment it was introduced.

It is not true that the Roman Catholic Church in Poland expressed its open disapproval or challenged the Polish authorities. The Roman Catholic Church expressed its anxiety for persons detained, which is quite normal.

I have to say that the moderating role played by the Church is appreciated by the Government. I know only of two or three cases of priests being detained, but martial law is mandatory for everyone. One of the priests detained said publicly in his sermon that even if the civil war in Poland would swallow two million dead, it would be worth fighting. To my mind this sort of religious teaching does not correspond exactly with the policies of the Vatican or to the concept of social tranquillity.

9. It is not true that the Polish trade unions, including Solidarity, were banned or prohibited or disbanded. Their activities were temporarily suspended and they will be permitted to operate again as soon as possible. However, there will be no place for an anti-Communist opposition political party. That is over — once and forever.

International implications

The World Peace Council is a proper place to remind everyone, our Italian comrades notwithstanding, that for the first time ever a generation of Europeans has grown up in peace, not knowing the atrocities of war.

The main factor underlying this unprecedented period in Europe and in history is a post war international order known as the Yalta-Potsdam

system. Close to 50 million people paid with their lives to gain that system — not necessarily for the actual shape of European policies, but rather for a sort of mutual balance of forces, which has prevented an outbreak of hostilities on the European continent for 37 years.

That is the cornerstone of Polish political thinking. Poland in its present geographical shape could not exist without our military alliances and our commitment to the socialist commonwealth.

The reason is quite simple and there is no need to elaborate: no-one but our allies guarantees our territorial integrity. Thus, any move aimed at destroying the Yalta-Potsdam pillar of European peace is by definition directed against Polish statehood, the interests of the Polish nation and the paramount interest of all Europe. It is as simple as that.

Now, who was really interested in the destabilization of Europe and its peaceful order? The question would be irrelevant, if it were not for an amazing assumption that the events in Poland contributed to European destabilization. The truth is just to the contrary. We have not only prevented a bloody civil war in Poland with all its unforeseen international ramifications, but have also contributed to European stability.

It is true that the plans of upsetting the European balance of power devised in Washington were cut down at the very last moment. Yet those politicians in Washington who are so eager to transform the European continent into a nuclear battlefield, do not seem to possess any moral or intellectual right to impose their confrontation policies upon us all.

It is a sad sight when an establishment responsible for the genocide in Vietnam, a cordial ally of South Africa, tireless supporters of tyrants and dictators, dares to teach the lessons of political morality.

The use of the food weapon against Poland is not aimed at the Polish Military Council nor the Polish government; it is aimed against the Polish nation.

No sanctions against South Africa, moral solidarity with everlasting martial law in the Philippines, shameless support for the Chilean junta, unbroken support of Somozas and Stroessners — that is the perfect moral ground for imposing an economic blockade against Poland!

President Reagan has cancelled Polish fishing rights — is this because we make tanks from fish?

He has cancelled air traffic agreements with Poland, probably doing so as a good friend of the air traffic controllers' trade union in America.

He cancels delivery of 100,000 tons of corn, already paid for, thus depriving Poland of chicken fodder for next year. Probably he wants to

punish government officials and deprive them of their daily meals. If this is not the case, how can it be explained otherwise.

Those are bitter words but we have to realize that the developments in Poland served Washington as a mere pretext to corroborate their worldwide confrontation policies. It is very heartening to note the balanced and far-sighted attitude of many west European governments in that respect.

We are fully aware that suspension of civil liberties in Poland and the introduction of martial law cannot be endorsed by west European public opinion, parliaments and governments. The reason is simple — your history was more magnanimous, better to live through.

However, west European societies with their long tradition of democracy should try to understand the Polish predicament in a broader scope. And first of all to see the Polish events in a long-term perspective of European peace and the European future.

The differences are natural. They will be settled one day. But Europe is here to stay forever.

§§§

EDUCATION AND THE YOUTH

From Khulu Mbatha, German Democratic Republic

I am on a scholarship in the GDR, and I feel that first and foremost the scholarship is a mission as important as any other mission given to cadres of the liberation movement inside or outside South Africa. Education is dialectically interconnected with the struggle as a whole.

Here in the GDR, a socialist country, the main objective of education is the all-round and harmonious development of all members of the community, something impossible in apartheid and bourgeois South Africa. The right of every individual to learn and to develop his personality to the fullest extent is only possible where social relations permit and encourage this.

"General education under socialism also has the task of preparing the growing generation for informed and committed participation in the

political struggle of the working class and its allies and enabling them to hold their own in the international battle of ideas against the opponents of peace and socialism", says the "Firsthand Information" journal of the GDR. The socialist states, the working class in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements are the three revolutionary streams working for these objectives.

The late Moses Kotane said to the youth: "At this hour of destiny your country and your people need you. The future of South Africa is yours and it will be what you make of it". I am compelled to add that it will be what we make of it today and not tomorrow.

The transformation of the old capitalist society, the upbringing and education of the new generation that will create a new society in South Africa cannot be conducted along the old lines. Under the old system of education we had at home there was a complete rift between books and practical life, between theory and practice. Unless book-knowledge is related to practical life, unless education is combined with and obtained through struggle, the new society as foreseen in the Freedom Charter will never be realised, because the separation of theory and practice will continue.

Here in exile the liberation movement, with the help of its supporters like the GDR, is replacing the old drill sergeant methods practised in South Africa, against the will of the majority, with the consciousness and discipline of the workers at home. The working class have combined hatred of the exploiters with a determination, ability and readiness to unite and organise their forces for our struggle so as to forge the wills of millions of people, disunited and scattered all over South Africa, into a single will to defeat the enemy and achieve the aims of the Freedom Charter. Without this solidarity, without the conscious discipline of the workers and the youth at home and in exile, our cause is hopeless.

For the new generation, the task is more complex and the struggle shapes itself in many forms. For instance, in South Africa the bourgeois principle predominates: rob or be robbed; work for others or make others work for you; be a slave owner or a slave. People brought up in such a society assimilate, with their mothers' milk, the psychology, the habit, the concept which says: You are either a boss, a worker or a petty-bourgeois, a slave or a man who is concerned only with himself and does not care a rap for anybody else. If others starve, I don't care, I get my pay on Friday. If I have a job as a doctor, teacher or clerk, I do not care a rap for anybody else. If I please my boss I may be able to keep my job and, you know, even get on in life and become a boss myself.

Comrades, we today cannot afford to harbour such a psychology and such sentiments. When the workers and the youth at home proved that they were able, by their own efforts, to defend themselves and fight for the creation of a new society, that was the beginning of a new education, education in the struggle against exploiters, education in alliance with the workers against the self-seekers, against the psychology and habits of those who say: "I seek my own profit and don't care a rap for anything else". That is the reply to the question how we, the younger generation, should learn to build a new society. We can only succeed in our task of becoming cadres if we link up every step in our studies with the continuous struggle which the people at home are waging against Botha and Co.

Lenin said (Speech, 3rd Congress of Young Communist League, October 2, 1920):

> "When people have seen the way in which their fathers and mothers lived under the yoke of the landowners and capitalists; when they have themselves experienced the sufferings of those who began the struggle against the exploiters; when they have seen the sacrifices made to keep what has been won, and seen what deadly enemies the landowners and capitalists are, they are taught by these conditions to become communists . . . That is the basis of communist training, education and teaching".

He then drew this conclusion:

> "While they are attending school, they (the youth) must learn to become participants in the common struggle for emancipation from the exploiters".

Let me take a practical example which faced the Soviet Union when they started building socialism, which is facing the newly independent states, which is facing the whole of mankind and not less important for us too, now at home and in exile and also in a future South Africa: the problem of eradicating illiteracy. This is the task of the ANC, especially the youth. We young men and women must be prepared to go to the areas assigned to us by the ANC to help abolish illiteracy. To achieve practical results in this work will help us answer the call of our President Comrade Oliver Tambo and become real revolutionaries, part of the great army of freedom fighters, able to build up a society without exploiters.

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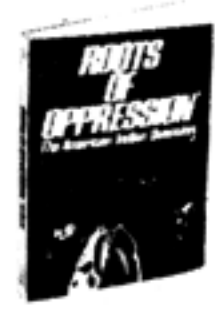
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